565 In the Sudan they are often referred to by the name of Daga,
192 a word of Sonrhaï origin, as is the word Bourdame which designates the Imochar.

565 Owners of a great many goats, the Ahaggar Imrad are limited
●233 to short moves, but they are not sedentary. They actually have a
423 great many centers of cultivation, but they do not cultivate them-
241 selves; for this purpose they use Negroes from the Tidikelt -- the
563 Harratin /Haṛatin/ who act as tenant farmers and cultivators.

563 Assimilated vassals. -- Tribes bearing the names Issekkemâren and Irréguénaten /Irreganaten/ are generally assimilated with the Imrad. These tribes, although also vassals of the Imochar, are appreciably different from the Imrad from the social point of view.

The Issekkemâren and the Irréguénaten are not people of their race in the eyes of the Tuareg. Linked to them by some remote [602] bonds of kinship, they are considered mixtures, exactly as their name indicates. They are the product of mixed marriages, general- [582] ly of Tuareg women with Arabs or Berbers. The term Irréguénaten has even been extended to groups springing from Imochar women or Imrad men. They exist in several confederations; there are Irréguénaten among the Iḥăggaren as well as among the river Tuareg, Issekkemâren among the Iḥăggaren and in the Timbuktu region.

563 Socially they occupy a higher rank than the Imrad; they are
631 free, and their vassalage to the Imochar is much more liberal. They have placed themselves under their protection because they were [643 too weak to insure their own defense. For this reason, they pay an 651] annual indemnity called rharama to the aménokal. They administer their own affairs just as the Imrad do, and they have the same mores [184] as the Tuareg. On the surface they cannot be distinguished from them. They also speak Tamashek, although they are less rigorous [567 keepers of the old traditions, it is true. They own slaves, but they 461] do not show as great a repugnance for work as the Imochar and the Imrad. There are never unions between them and the Imochar, [582] and they are quite rare with the Imrad.

631 a very ancient tribe, the Isbeten, who were the autochthons of the Ahaggar and whom the Dag Rali would have found in Atakor when they came to settle there.

After the battle at Tit where they lost more than 100 fighters, the Dag Rali still numbered 60 warriors. The 1938 census gives 1, 090 persons, 334 of them men, including the Iklan. This increase is quite rare among the Tuareg and reflects their wealth and the improvement of their living conditions since the French occupation.

They nomadize in the western part of the Koudia, which is their absolute fief where no other fraction is admitted.

/192/ On the east, the boundaries of the lands over which they range are fixed by the right bank of the Tamanrasset wadi and the Interkadène wadi as far as Ideles; on the south by the southern zone of the Tahalra as far as Tin Dahar; on the west by In Eker; and on the north by the line from In Eker to Hirhafok to Ideles.

631 The Dag Rali pay a tribute of ten bags of dates or sorghum to the
651 aménokal; in addition, each family which sends a caravan to the Sudan pays him a small bag of sorghum. If the pastures are good, they add several "botta" of melted butter and the milk of twenty ewes. In the case of a successful raid, they pay the nobles half of the ewes.

631 The Dag Rali are now the richest people in the Ahaggar. They
233 own more than 1, 200 goats and more than 1, 000 camels. Thanks to
556 their beasts of burden, they can take many very remunerative caravans
439 to the Sudan and to the Tidikelt. They hold in common escheated flocks which are called Edjeré-n-boutelma. When the pastures are insufficient to feed all their livestock, they entrust their camels to the Irréguénaten who graze them on the Saharo-Sudanese border.

631 Since they are very open-minded, they were in favor of cultivation
241 in the centers of the Ahaggar, and at the present time they possess
423 lands at Ilâman, Tarahananet, Tamanrasset, Abalessa, Iglen, Tafarit, I-n-Amegel, and Silet, which Negroes cultivate for them. The aménokal has granted them a certain number of palm trees in the Silet oasis which formerly belonged to the Taitok.

173 631 Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé means "reed people." Legend has it that they were forced to eat the roots of that plant during their flight from the Aïr. Their chief was then a man of Herculean size named Assékal ag Louka; the legend says that his feet were so big that when his pursuers saw the footprints, they preferred to abandon the chase.

The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé claim to be originally from Mecca where their remote ancestor received a camel from the Prophet. He was supposed to drink only the milk of the camel, but he committed the sin of killing it. Therefore, they had to flee, and after long years of wandering, they settled in Aïr.

At the time when the Imrad were divided up (1750), they were part of the Issandaten. The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé went to the Kel Rela, and the other fraction, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis, went to the Tăitok.

631 The land over which they range borders on that of the Dăg Râli. It goes from Tamanrasset to Ourchi wadi, then from the Koudia as far as Afrahouhine and Tamaghine.

[651] They pay a tribute to the aménokal, the same size as that of the Dăg Râli, but they do not share captured goats and sheep with him.

They are currently allied with the Dăg Râli and the Relaiddîn.

[648] 669 They took sides against us in the battle of Tit where they had about ten men killed. During the insurrection of 1916-1918, they rose up, and their women even seized thirty mehari /dromedaries/ belonging to the meharist company at Fort Motylinski. On the other hand, they did not take part in the revolt directly and were the first to ask for mercy.

[161] /195/ Totaling 60 men in 1905, the tribe numbers about 150 persons at the present time.

[233] [651] The Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé own nearly a thousand camels, which they graze on the Saharo-Sudanese borders, and 1,200 to 1,400 goats. Every year they pay a tribute to the amenokal of 12 bags of dates, 6 pots of butter, and the usufruct of 10 goats. Most of the cultivated land and the foggara of Tarhaouaout and Tahifet belongs to them, and they have gardens at Ămsel, Tamanrasset, and Talan-Tédit.

[423] [241]

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Xrokam, Serouanout, and in the Xnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[237] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Ihéaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 [180] The Aït Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddin. -- The Relaiddin probably came from Aïr, like the Xgouh-en-Tehlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglan.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Aïtoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[69] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others. Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The

[423] territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but

162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadel camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning

233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

563 631 They are not vassals like the Irréguénaten and the Ibettenâten, but are incorporated.

563 173 According to a tradition reported by Dr. Richer, (1) the

1. Les Oulliminden, p. 71.

Issekkemâren are the descendants of the family of the Sagmara, pointed out in the Âdrar des Iforas and in the region of Gao by El Bekri. They were driven back by the Sonrhai invasion and came to take refuge among the northern Tuareg while a small fraction remained in the south in the environs /199/ of Timbuktu and today has a marabout character.

[797] 197 [648] Although they are more Islamized than the other tribes, they are nonetheless Tuaregized in the sense that they follow Tuareg customs and speak Tamashek. Many of them speak Arabic fluently, either because of their origin or because of their constant relations with the Tidikelt.

173 563 631 At the time of the division of the Imrad, some tribes were bestowed upon the Kel Rela, others on the Tâitok and the Tégéhé-Mellet. The tribes attached to the Kel Rela are the Ihéiaouen Hâda, the Kel Immîdir, the Kel Tâzoûlet, the Kel Tâfedest, and the Kel In Rhar'.

563 439 484 ● 233 They are all great caravaneers who trade a great deal on the Tidikelt markets. They own a large number of camels and their camel raising is particularly renowned.

563 [173] The Iheiaouen Hada. -- The Iheiaouen Hada, also called Oulad Elias or Ihéiaouen-n-Temounent, are said to be descended from an Arab woman who was seized at Touat. The word Iheiaouen means in Tamashek "the grandsons of . . . ," so that we must conclude that the people of this tribe are the descendants of a woman named Ada.

[221] They nomadize in the Tâfedest massif near Âdenek, Abezou, In Takoufi, Eguelougal, and Tidessi. During dry periods they lead their camels to the Saharo-Sudanese borders in the neighborhood of the Tamaïa well.

563 162 They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

233 They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, 423 241 which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism 795 798 /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

669 In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tafedest.

173 /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

162 Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

233 Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head.

241 423 They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Amegal, Déhine, and Abézou.

795 Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

669 During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

224 They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

651 The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the amenokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

162 The Kel Tafedest. -- The Kel Tafedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Aseksem, Amegid, and the Adrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tafedest.

They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[795] The Kel Tafedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates [65] and a young camel.

The Kel Immidir. -- The Kel Immidir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hada and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immidir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Arak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoulet. -- The Kel Tazoulet or Dag el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tazoulet region and near Tazerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the [132] Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tazerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Ait Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 651 Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

554 The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ádrar des Ifóras and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Áhnet and Tamasna.

233 This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

162 In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

651 /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

669 Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ádrar des Ifóras held them in suspicion for a long time.

28 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

600 There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioue1, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Iforas, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1, 000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Tounîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops, He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

173 Let us add that the Kel Ahnet claim to be of Beraber origin
631 through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinan. But the Taitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hinan.

631 The Tegehe-n-Efis. -- The Tegehe-n-Efis are of the same origin as the Tegehe-n-Elimen.

They used to nomadize in Air and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Agouh-en-Tehle. When Mohamed el Kheir was amenokal, the Tegehe-n-Elimen came to ask protection from the Ihaggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younes.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Taitok in conflict, the Tegehe-n-Efis took refuge on the Air borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

162 In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there
233 were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250
241 goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tigenouin,
423 Amsel, Abalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahalra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tigeneouin, Tamala. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Agouh-en-Tehle is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Taitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

173 The Kel I-n-Tounin. -- The Kel I-n-Tounin are Issekkemaren. They were given to the Taitok under Sidi's amenokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Terourirt were given to the Tegehe Mellet.

422
● 233
631

KEL RELA		on the right cheek, on the right front.	KEL I-N-TOÛNÎNE		on the neck.
DÂG RALÎ		crossing the neck, at the right.	TÂÎTOK		at the right front, on the cheek.
ÂJOUH-EN-TÊHLÉ		on the right front, on the neck, to the right.	KEL ÂHNET		on the neck, to the right.
IKLÂN-EN-TÂOUSÎT		at the top of the right thigh.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-ÊFIS		on the right cheek.
KEL TÂZOÛLET		on the neck, to the right.	IROUAROUAREN		on the right cheek.
KEL ÎN RHAR'		on the right thigh.	IKOUTTÎSEN		on the neck.
RELAÏDIN		on the neck.	TÉGÉHÉ MELLET		on the right cheek.
IHEAOUEN HADA		on the right thigh.	IRECHCHOÛMEN		
KEL ÎMMÎDIR		on the right thigh.	KEL OHET		on the right thigh.
KEL TÂFEDEST		on the right thigh.	IKERREMOÏEN		
KEL AMGUÎD		on the right thigh.	INEMBA		
ÂÎT LOAÏEN		on the right cheek.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-AG-ALÎ		
IRRÉGUÉNATEN		on the neck, to the right, on the right cheek.	TÉGÉHÉ-N-OU-SIDI		
KEL TEROÛRÎRT		on the neck.	IBOGLÂN		
IBETTENÂTEN		on the right cheek.			

Table of the brands applied to camels in the different Ahaggar tribes.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the [651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[669] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

[162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 [233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner
631 by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

631
[173] 1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dăg Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Tăitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghîn, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given to Moussa ag Ămastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemâden live mixed in with the Dăg Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Tăitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Ămastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dăg Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dăg Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ăjjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Ämastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Ämellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Äjjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Ämegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Änaba ag Ämellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
[162] Kel Raris, the Däg-Khamaya, and the Däg Iknân. In all there are about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Täfedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Äjjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Däg Houa, are Ait Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although they live with the Ait Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol,
[651] they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

to extract all the water, and then dry them on /235/ small screens placed in the branches of trees. It goes without saying that cheese making is very rare in the Ahaggar and that the Tuareg make it particularly when they are nomadizing in the Sudan. Every year the Ihăggaren bring back large supplies of cheese from their stay in the Sudanese zone; these cheeses, dry as a bone, are either made by the Ihăggaren or bought from the southern tribes. They make an important contribution to the Tuareg diet. These dry cheeses are ground in a mortar and reduced to small fragments so that they have the consistency of flour. Then they are mixed with food, either in bĕchena gruel or in a drink of bĕchena flour and dates.

It might be supposed that meat plays a very large role in the Tuareg diet. But let us recall one of our old French proverbs which says that the shoemaker is always the worst shod. We could apply this adage to herders, who perhaps eat less meat than anyone else. A herder has animals for the use of their products, but he very seldom eats them, for each butchering is a loss of capital.

Indeed, the Tuareg kill their animals only under very unusual circumstances, especially at the time of religious and family festivals. These killings recall somewhat the religious meaning of sacrifices. This does not mean that they do not like meat, for when they raid a rival camp, they hasten to make drastic inroads on the smaller livestock and eat until they are about to burst.

Hunting furnishes them a little additional meat. Each year they kill a certain number of gazelles and wild sheep, eating part of the meat fresh and drying the rest to keep it on hand.

They capture star lizards (Uromastix acanthinurus), jerboas, gondi (Ctenodactylus sp.), sometimes even jackals and hares. We can add to their meat diet grasshoppers (Shistocerca gregaria), which they grill in the embers and then dry in order to pulverize them. All Saharian nomads are very fond of grasshoppers, and since remotest antiquity some North African tribes are supposed to

1: Lhote--107 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

/249/

Chapter 6

Animal Husbandry

233 If we study mainly the tribes which live in the Sudan, in a country which lends itself perfectly to animal husbandry, we observe that the Tuareg are experienced herders, capable of making their herds prosper. The scarcity of pastures in the Sahara has evidently put animal husbandry in the background among the northern Tuareg, but it was certainly not always that way. The example that we have before us in the Sudan allows us to class all the Tuareg among the great herders.

[184]

Animal husbandry is at the very foundation of their living conditions. It is probably the source of their migrations and their swarming over the Sahara and the Sudan. On these grounds the Tuareg, like all shepherds, may be reproached for their thieving and destructive bent, the effect of which is often felt by urban groups and always by the vegetation which they shamelessly destroy. With these reservations, however, they have brought with them some elements of cultural civilization which have played a considerable role both in the Sahara and the Sudan.

[167]

The Ihaggaren are forced to count on the income from their herds and could not live without them. That is why they devote a large part of their work to animal husbandry, despite the difficulties imposed on them by caring for the animals.

This animal husbandry, moreover, is peculiar to the Saharian regions and is totally different from that of the Sudanese Tuareg. The Sudanese own cattle, great quantities of sheep, and horses; the Sahara could not support such flocks.

[184]

The Ahaggar Tuareg raise camels, goats, sheep, and asses.

174 The camel. -- We have seen previously what we must think about the introduction of the camel into the Sahara. Whether it was

174 /250/ introduced before or after the Christian era, it is nonetheless true that the ancestors of the Tuareg must have introduced it.

182 At the present time, human life in the Sahara, which is already of little consequence, would be reduced to zero without
● 233 the camel. This is a fundamental fact which has been amply demonstrated and which it is useless to dwell on. Th. Monod, who dedicated one of his works "To the camel and the goat, the vehicle and the container, the two sole conquerors of the Sahara, " (1)

1. Méharées/ Meharis/.

has not only been literary and witty, he has put the truth in a few words. Without the camel, no relation would be possible between the oases, no relation between North Africa and intertropical Africa.

233 One may therefore easily understand that the animal plays a large part in the life of the Saharian Tuareg, and that the latter make a great effort to raise camels. They have always endeavored to own many camels, and at the present time their livestock has increased to more than 10, 000 head.

[132] Although the camel has adapted perfectly to the Saharian pastures and terrain, it is nonetheless true that the aridity is such
[492] that he has difficulty keeping in good condition, and that a slightly prolonged march has to be compensated for by a rest period lasting twice as long as the period during which he was tired out. That is
[361] why the Ihäggaren nomadize with their camels on the borders of the Sahara in the steppe where there are acacias and graminaceae.

232 Ahaggar breeding is very famous. It furnishes animals which are resistant, very frugal eaters, capable of braving mountain rocks or marching for weeks on end over the granite regoliths of the Tanezrouft, something the Sudanese -bred camels could not do.

The Tuareg select the animals when they are very young, destining them either for saddle camels or for pack camels. The meharis are castrated and undergo special training. In speaking of

these saddle camels, one may not, therefore, refer to a particular breed /race/ adapted for speed, as one may commonly hear spoken of.

The camel has a well determined exchange value among the Tuareg. It is one of the bases for comparison in their commercial transactions.

Each tribe marks his animals with a particular sign, and /251/ the owners who have many camels also have their own signs, marked with a hot iron on one of the parts of the animal's body -- neck, cheek, or thigh.

The sheep. -- Sheep are raised only accessorily in the Ahaggar, because grass is not abundant enough. But it occupies a large place in Sudanese animal husbandry.

It is a very peculiar animal with short hair and a long tail. It stands tall, a characteristic which has won for it the name of Ovis longipes. The Tuareg certainly introduced it into West Africa. Zoologists never refer to it except as Tuareg sheep. Its antiquity in North Africa is well known. The ram of Ammon is pictured with its characteristic form, and it is also recognizable in the splendid rock drawings of Géryville and Tlout. It seems to descend from the Corsican wild sheep rather than from the Algerian wild sheep. Today it is an animal found exclusively in Tuareg camps of the Sudan or in their area of influence.

Sheep is the dish served at great feasts, and its skin is used as a ground rug, a blanket, or to make harnessing articles.

The goat. -- The goat is the mountain animal par excellence, as frugal an eater as can be, resisting both cold and heat, and able to be content with the meagerest pastures. It is thus quite natural to find many of these goats among the Ihaggaren.

/252/ The Ahaggar species is small with long black hair. In the Sudan it is different colors -- white and black, or red -- with short hair; it stands taller than the Ahaggar species and is often crossed with the dwarf female goat in the southern tribes.

The origin of the goat is less certain than that of the sheep. Very widespread all over the world, it must have been domesticated at

136 several different spots, and it is not impossible that the species
[172] bred today in the Ahaggar is of African origin. Bones of the species are found in the Neolithic layers of the Sahara.

137 At the present time there is a death struggle between the goats
233 and trees in the Ahaggar. The goat itself is capable of browsing
185 the lower branches and destroying them, thanks to its agility. The Tuareg do the rest when pasture is scarce, by felling the main branches to put them within the reach of the animals. And so, in a relatively short time, trees, and the tahla (Acacia sp.) in par-particular, will be only a memory in the Ahaggar. Nothing has

[418 326 172]

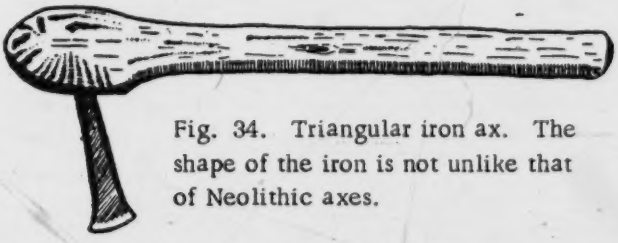


Fig. 34. Triangular iron ax. The shape of the iron is not unlike that of Neolithic axes.

been done by the French administration in the Ahaggar to protect the trees, when it would be sufficient to close some valleys for several years, while taking into account the needs of the shepherds. Measures of this kind have been taken in the environs of Goundam and have given very good results.

132 Prolonged dryness which causes a lack of pasture often puts
233 goat raising in difficulties. The birth rate is stopped short, and mortality may result to such a great extent that the number of animals sometimes falls to one fifth. Then many years are needed to build up the flocks, granting, of course, the arrival of favorable rains.

232 The careless and fatalistic Ihaggaren do not even try to step up breeding by buying sires in Adrar or in Aïr. They let their weak flocks reconstitute themselves by their own means, which
[273] sometimes requires many years. In case of an overabundance of births, they limit the number of animals, for they are well aware

of the average resources of their country and never let their flocks exceed the number of head necessary for the milk needs of their family -- about ten to twelve animals per person. The surplus is consumed or sold to the sedentary people in the agricultural centers.

/253/ The Ahaggar goats give very rich milk which makes excellent butter. The meat, which is a little tough, is eaten boiled, and the hide is valued for making saddle bags, waterskins, and sometimes tents.

The ass. -- The Ahaggar Tuareg have many asses. They do not breed them properly speaking, taking no care of them and letting them reproduce freely. Many Tuareg do not know the exact number of asses they have, for they do not use them all and abandon them in the mountains where they become more or less wild. The young ones, born in the meantime, do not let anyone get near them, and they must be trapped and then trained in order to be used.

These asses running loose, called haoulil by the Ahaggar Tuareg, have given rise to a legend of wild asses. On this subject, Gautier cited the adventure of General Laperrine who had a "wild" ass hunted by his Arab horsemen, only to notice later that the animal had been castrated.

Although there are no more wild asses in the Ahaggar, it is nearly certain that there were some. They were pictured in the rock drawings of the Djorat wadi, and some still exist in Abyssinia where they are called "onager."

The ass is very much at home in the Ahaggar. It is possible that it was domesticated there. The legends of the Ihaggaren have kept the memory of the first inhabitants, the Issebeten, who had only asses and goats.

In their short moves the Tuareg utilize asses to transport baggage, and men and women also use them as mounts. The servants also take asses to replenish the water supply, making them carry the heavy waterskins on their backs or under their bellies.

The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

293 361 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance. Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the [192] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 643 651 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the aménokal to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

423 621 Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

755 When a bad genie is supposed to inhabit a person's body, people gather together and make a frightful uproar around him, accompanied by the tom-tom. The object of this is to put him in a trance so that the genie finally becomes frightened and decides to go away. [233] They use the same method for camels who are sometimes stricken with nervous difficulties.

A few years ago, a noble Ahaggar woman was subject to epileptic seizures. She had hallucinations and said she was possessed by an evil genie which she saw and felt in her. And so, each time the seizure occured, the people of her camp engaged in their /262/ habitual demonstrations. One day she got it into her head to get rid of her guest and slit her throat to allow him to leave. She wounded herself so badly that her life was in great danger for a long time afterwards. Scarcely had she recovered, however, when she had another attack and slit her throat a second time.

759 752 The surgery of the Kel Ahaggar is as elementary as their medicine. First let us say that there are no surgeons among them, no more than there are persons known for their medical knowledge. Medicine and surgery are everybody's business; the knowledge that they possess is everybody's domain, and each Tuareg is able to care for himself or for the people in his camp. For surgical operations, nevertheless, the Enaden are called upon by preference, 752 since they are generally more adroit than the others. They usually 413 have small instruments that they make themselves -- forceps, instruments for baring the neck of teeth, scarificator, cupping glasses, tonsil cutters, etc. -- and with which they operate quite skillfully.

They have been very aptly compared to our barber-surgeons of days gone by. (1)

1: Lhote--166b E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Plate XVI

326

Settled in improvised camps, blacksmiths work in the open air making weapons and utensils needed by the Tuareg.

233
462
312
415
492

The Imrad women are in charge of taking the flocks to pasture and water. Every two or three days they go to the wells, drawing water for the goats, who drink out of wooden bowls or out of skins used as containers by placing them on mounds of sand in the shape of a basin. They fill the waterskins which will be transported to the camp by asses.

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or 651 both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult 651 males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of 651 this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in recent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class System. 233 All Saharan nomads live primarily off 137 their livestock, and livestock lives off pasturage. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

233 across much of the land and concentrated
[137] along dry river bottoms, and the small patches of thick, lush, emerald green grass that flourish briefly in hollows here and there following rainstorms. Pasturage is always either very sparse or very scattered in the Ahaggar and so the nomadic inhabitants of the area must move often, for the supply in the immediate neighborhood of a camp is quickly exhausted.
[312] To make life still more difficult, water points are often few and far between as we already know, and it is not unusual to find good pasturage so far from any water that it cannot be used for more than a day or two, if at all. This combination of circumstances has
233 made it necessary for the Ahaggar Tuareg
221 to break up into small and highly mobile camp units composed of fractions of clans, or even single families, and each of these units must move at intervals of usually somewhere between a week and a month and often over considerable distances, although always within the territorial limits of the tribe (fig. 36).

As soon as a camp or constellation of neighboring camps is established in a new location, the head men first set up the daily grazing routine of the flocks and then set out at once to scout far and wide in search of the next pasture to be used and the next camp sites that their families will occupy. And so it goes the year around, and so the Tuareg of the Ahaggar are highly mobile nomads by force of circumstances, for they cannot survive otherwise in the region which they have made their own.

565 It is in the compelling circumstances of
233 their environment that we find the roots of
463 the class system of the Ahaggar Tuareg, for,
182 quite apart from the question of mobility, such conditions can be met successfully only by a well conceived and firmly established division of labor. In the Ahaggar it is the nobles of a tribe and the headmen of the vassal clans who ride out in search of new pastures and at the same time act as military scouts, always on the watch for enemy raiders as

[423] *The fundamental difference between the two systems lies in the fact that the basis of land tenure among the Tuareg is not that of the *beneficium* while personal allegiance is not based on the concept of the *comitatus*. The true feudal system of medieval Europe was based on the conferring of privilege by an absolute ruler (or one of his vassals) on a less

565 well as for potential victims, alien camps or
233 caravans which they can raid themselves. The
463 vassals in their turn are responsible for the daily management and immediate protection of the flocks and herds, and also constitute an armed reserve that can be called up quickly in case a battle becomes imminent or the opportunity for a major raid presents itself. The
[567] slaves take care of the domestic service and household chores of the camps while their boys go out as shepherds to the flocks.

565 Thus it is clear that the Tuareg class system is a necessity of pastoral life in the Ahaggar;
642 for no pastoral community can survive there without nomadizing, and no community of
[182] nomads can survive without a rigidly formalized division of labor and authority similar to that embodied in the class system of the Tuareg. It now becomes clear also that the seemingly paradoxical combination, within the social framework, of rigidity during the period of a single adult lifetime and a relative fluidity over slightly longer periods still so short as to span often no more than a couple of generations and sometimes less, is not in fact a paradox at all. It merely reflects in simple functional terms the fact that extreme conditions call for an extreme response, that the framework within which the allocation of authority is made at various levels in the communal structure must be very firmly established but must also allow considerable freedom periodically in the choice of those who are to occupy critical positions of decision and command so as to avoid the danger of having such positions filled automatically by persons unfit to occupy them, a danger that could well be quickly fatal to the whole community.

And finally we see that Tuareg government really has nothing essential in common with the feudal system of mediæval Europe to which it has so often been confusingly compared.[9] In the last analysis authority resides in the vassals, for they can make and at least
[643] in theory break the mightiest of all the nobles, the Amenokal himself, and they can do all this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.

powerful neighbor in exchange for some specified kind of continuing or periodic service. Among the Tuareg the relationship between "noble" and "vassal" looks much the same at first glance, but this is an optical illusion, a case of merely superficial resemblance.

565 this by peaceful means, at least again in theory.
642 Ancient Egyptian records tell of a Libyan chieftain, Meryey who was peacefully deposed and replaced by a younger brother following a disastrous defeat in battle (Bates, 1914, pp. 114–15, 218 and 221). It is some of the vassal clans that are the biggest numerically and also the richest on a *per capita* basis; and if vassal clansmen pay tribute to their noble "masters" it is only because they choose to do so, because they find it in their interest to keep the nobles on their payroll so to speak. Thus the Tuareg government of the Ahaggar is in fact a kind of republic and not a real monarchy or true military aristocratic autocracy at all.

● 233 **Livestock.** Herds of camels and flocks of hairy sheep and goats constitute the bulk of the capital investment and so form the primary basis of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. The quantity and composition of the total livestock investment has been variously estimated, but the following rough approximations are probably not far from the true figures: camels—12,000, sheep—2,000, goats—20,000, donkeys—5,000 and cattle (zebus)—300 or thereabouts.
[231] Donkeys, as we have seen, are unproductive except as beasts of burden, and the cattle are so few as to be of negligible importance. Only some 4,500 camels are actually kept in the Ahaggar while the rest are put out to pasture in the Tamesna region on the northern edge of the Sudan, roughly half way between the Aïr and the Niger Bend. Most of the sheep too are pastured outside the Ahaggar proper, mainly in the country around Tin Zaouaten, southwest of the Ahaggar and northwest of the Tamesna.

235 The Haratin of the Ahaggar keep chickens,
262 but only the eggs are eaten as a rule. The Tuareg eat neither eggs, fowl nor fish, but we will discuss this further in the section on *Nomad Diet* in the following chapter.

232 It has been said that the Tuareg have no special breed of riding camels but that likely looking animals are picked out early and given special training for use as mounts. The fact remains, however, that the young of famous stud camels are always the preferred choice, and these animals are specially marked shortly after birth. The method of marking consists of pinching up three small folds of skin in a row, about 2 to 3 inches apart, along

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are primarily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after water and take care of the children.

563
567
[233]
[357]

[231
291
312]

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

000

Aïn Redjem in the Botha Wadi
(Immidir)

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouaten Well

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the Tidikelt with it. 237 283 262 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones. 233 492 [312]

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold. 233 343

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari. 233 [435]

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and advice for this purpose. 137 233 [312 648]

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture without herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes. 233

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is 192 233

4: Benhazera--57b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

[192]

Names of Camels in Tamashek (according to their age)	Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt)
1st year: *Aouara.*	1 to 6 months: *H'ouar.*
	6 mos. to 1 year: *Mekhloul.*
2nd year: *Aledjoudh.*	2 yrs.: *Ould lebboun.*
3rd year: *Aleggue.*	3 yrs.: *H'eugg.*
4th year: *Aqnefoud.*	4 yrs.: *Djedaâ.*
5th year: *H'aïr.*	5 yrs.: *Teni*
6th year: *Eg essine.*	6 yrs.: *Rebaâ.*
7th year: *Eg okkoz.*	7 yrs.: *Sedass.*
8th year: *Amessedis.*	8 yrs.: *Bou fellra.*
9th year: *Tahellat.*	9 yrs.: *Bou fellertine.*

called "talemt," plural "tillemine"; one that has calved within a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali," plural "imoulaï." [192] 233

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer," plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name ovis longipes, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

Chapter X

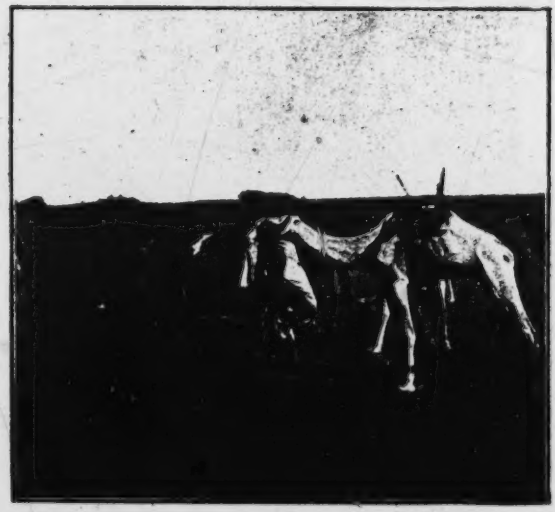
Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba," and snuff, "chemma," tea, and sugar. /68/ 439

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damergou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

It is to be noted that the Tuareg fasten their camels one behind the other, Indian file, when they go on caravans. Thus they are more orderly than /71/ Arab caravans. In particular, fewer shouts, oaths, etc., are heard. The Tuareg caravan passes almost silently, without disorder, and this is all to the good. 233● 484



Tuareg Caravan

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tuareg Letters (*Tifinagh*)	Transcription And Value In Arabic Letters		Notes
ⵖ	ɣ	غ	Prononcunced gutturally. Frequently transcribed as gh in literature.
ⵙ	s	س	
ⵜ	t	ت	
ⵟ	ṭ	ط	Emphatic
ⵊ	ǰ	ج	
ⵥ	ẓ		Emphatic

For certain geographical names the mode of spelling is in accordance with that of the maps edited by Institut Géographique National. The pronunciation of vowels is not indicated. At the end of words the Tuareg sometimes indicate vowels with a dot, which may stand for any vowel.

Pastoral Ecology in Ahaggar and Air.

The Tuareg of the true desert country have their camps in or close to mountain massifs of which the more important are Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer. Geographically these two regions have many traits in common. In Ahaggar, which rises to 3000 metres above sea level, the annual precipitation according to official statistics is between 20 mm and 40 mm. These figures are extremely low, but more characteristic of the desert country is the irregularity of the rainfalls. In some years there may fall no rain at all, while in others precipitation is much bigger than appears from the figures above. Several dry years may follow each other alternating with periods of abundant rainfall. According to investigations by Dubiéf four years out of ten are so dry that rainfall is of no importance for the regeneration of pastures (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23). Owing to the scarcity and the fluctuations of precipitation in Ahaggar a persistent vegetation cannot generally exist outside river valleys and depressions which are flooded during heavy rain. In the valleys perennial plants comprise not only grasses and herbs but also tall trees among which tamarisk and acacia are prominent. In dry years the perennial plants have little value as fodder for the domestic animals of the Tuareg. A great many goats may then die from hunger, and to avoid such a disaster some Tuareg take their flocks to the plains of Tamesna or to the Adrar-n-Iforas Mountains where rain is normally more plentiful and grazing better than in Ahaggar. However, even in dry years the majority of Ahaggar Tuareg will remain in their native country with their goat-flocks. For although they run the risk of losing a great many goats during a drought in Ahaggar

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

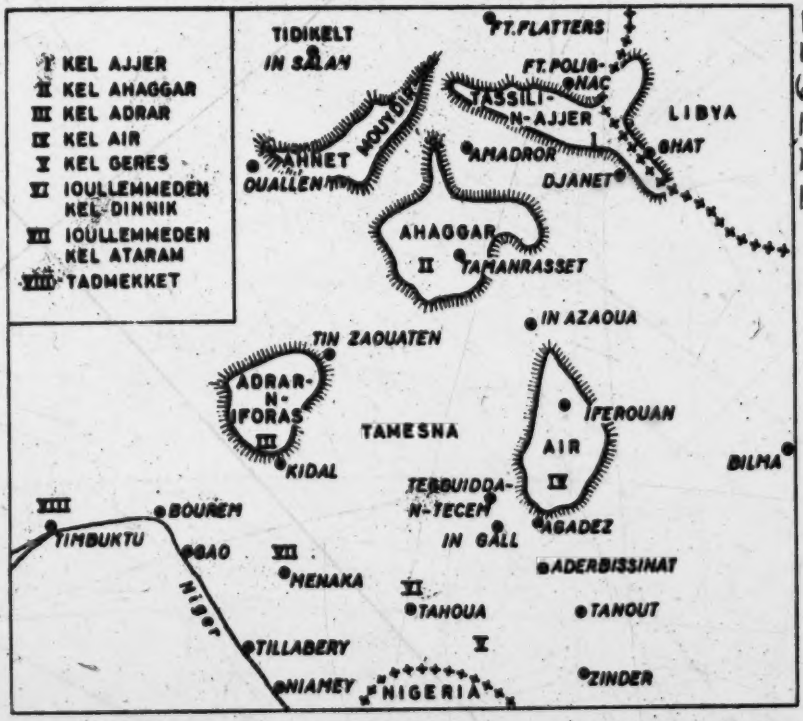


Fig. 1.–Map of the central parts of the Western Sahara and the adjacent Sudanese zone inhabited by the Tuareg, who fall into eight major political groups or federations. These groups as mentioned in the text are sub-divided into the politically very important drum-groups. The geographical position of the eight groups is roughly indicated by Roman numerals. – The Tadmekket Tuareg (VIII) from about A.D. 1800 were subjected to the Ioullemmeden Kel Ataram (VII) (cf. Richer 1924, p. 96). Scale, 1 centimetre = 160 kilometres.

those surviving, although emaciated, will quickly recover as soon as the rainfall starts again. In addition it is often very difficult to take goats through the barren desert country south of Ahaggar without severe loss. With camels, which are also very important domestic animals, things are different. Camels make a great demand on fodder, they are very valuable, can be sold for rather high prices in the oases, and they have a very slow increment compared with goats. For these reasons it is necessary or desirable to keep herds of camels in the south when pastures are dry in Ahaggar, and camels can be taken through the barren desert country without much difficulty. In dry years many Ahaggar Tuareg have their camel-herds in Tamesna, about 300 kilometres from the camps in Ahaggar, and there are even nomads who keep their she-camels constantly in these regions, where the animals are guarded by herdsmen who are frequently slaves.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

During drought periods the uttermost poverty is the lot of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who must then rely almost exclusively on agricultural products for their nourishment. But in years of abundant rainfall they have much milk during the winter, and they make butter and cheese to be used during the hot season when milk even in good years is scarce. They then also have meat for their sustenance but this is less important than milk-food.

In good years the perennial plants do not form the most important fodder of the domestic animals. For heavy rainfall will as if by magic change the barren country outside the valleys. An extremely rich vegetation of annual grasses and herbs springs up, and these tender plants constitute the very best fodder. But as, owing to the irregularity of the rainfall, annual pastures will not appear every year, it is difficult to breed other animals than goats and camels to which can be added donkeys used exclusively as beasts of burden and for riding. It is true that most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few sheep but none of them have cows (zebus). Cow-breeding and also effective sheep-breeding cannot be practised in a country like Ahaggar where for a period of years there may be no pastures of annual plants. In dry years the thorny acacias form the most important fodder of camels and goats, but the leaves of these trees cannot be eaten by cows and only with great difficulty by sheep.

In Ahaggar rain may fall at most seasons as the country is situated on the frontier of two different rainfall belts, namely that of the Mediterranean where rain occurs mainly in winter, and that of the Sudan where rain will fall late in summer. For a long period of years rain has fallen most abundantly late in summer, but according to Dubiéf this has not always been so. Not many years ago rainfall was almost equally common at all seasons (Dubiéf 1947, p. 7–23), and Ahaggar still has the characteristics of two distinct climatic zones, likewise as botanically it belongs both to the Mediterranean and to the Sudan.

On my camel journey from Ahaggar to Air via the wells of In Ebeggi and In Azaoua in April 1955 I experienced a rapid change of climatical and botanical conditions. At the outskirts of the southern slopes of the Ahaggar Mountains a persistent vegetation is very scarce in the valleys, and between the two above-mentioned wells there are practically no permanent plants. Broadly speaking the desert region between Ahaggar and Air is nothing but plains of gravel and stone interspersed with rocks and hills. But a little scattered rain will occur even in these regions and gives rise to annual pastures which are utilized by passing caravans. Otherwise the country is uninhabitable.

In the northernmost part of the Air massif acacias and tufts of perennial grasses grow in most valleys as in the lower parts of the Ahaggar Mountains. But compared with Ahaggar permanent vegetation is very rich and in places forms almost impenetrable jungles of trees and brushwood. Further south in Air perenniel plants including trees are very common also outside the valleys, and the country south of the massif very rapidly changes into a kind of steppe or open savannah. The com-

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

paratively rich vegetation of Air contains species found also in Ahaggar, but Ahaggar has Mediterranean plants including several saline species which do not thrive in Air, where there are tropical or Sudanese species unknown to Ahaggar. 137

Botanically Air is very closely connected with the Sudan, and the mountain massif is within the Sudanese zone of summer rain. It is true that rain at the northern outskirts of Air occasionally falls in winter and may then give rise to scattered pasture of annual plants, but these rains are of no real importance. The important rainfalls of Air occur in the period June–September, and particularly in July and August. As may be gathered from the description of botanical conditions, Air has a much bigger annual precipitation than has Ahaggar. Thus the village of Iferouan in Northern Air has 74 mm, while Agadez at the southern slopes of the massif has 179 mm. Precipitation will of course vary from one year to the other, but rain will always fall sufficiently for the spring of annual plants. This is the reason for a type of stock-breeding different from that of Ahaggar. In Air the Tuareg are richer in camels, they do not possess so many goats but are very rich in sheep, and most of them have zebus. 132 137 [233]

The climatic and botanical differences of Air and Ahaggar can be seen more directly from the division of the year into seasons (fig. 2). Air has a summer and a winter season between which there are two seasons termed *akasa* and *rarai*. These two words as seasonal terms express the fact that rain and annual pastures in Air are recurrent events, as the word *akasa* literally means "green annual plants", and the word *rarai* refers to "dry annual plants". Both words are known also to the Ahaggar Tuareg but are by them not applied as seasonal terms, for in their country rain will not occur every year and may fall at most seasons. 132 805

Conditions for stock-breeding are very much better in Air than in Ahaggar, but the latter country has a few superior qualities:– 1) Part of the year Ahaggar has a comparatively cool climate which is said to have a positive influence on the lactation of domestic animals. 2) In Ahaggar all over the country there are saline pastures which play an important part in stock-breeding – not because these plants are very nourishing but the animals do not thrive without salt. In Air saline plants are very rare and found mainly to the south and south-west of the massif where water and soil also contain salt. Many pastoralists will migrate to these regions shortly after the rains, while people who do not undertake such migrations feed their domestic animals with salt. Camels and cows have a particular need for fodder with a salt content. 3) Ahaggar has richer wells and a greater number of permanent ponds than Air. This may seem rather peculiar as precipitation is much bigger in the south than in the north. In Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer some ponds may contain fish apparently unknown in Air. In the latter country there are a great many ponds or even small lakes during the rains but they dry out very quickly when rainfall ceases. Water in Air most of the year is drawn from wells many of which go dry during the hot season; this will frequently lead to quarrels between nomads. 233 [132] [135] [137] [221] 312 [136] [578]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Agouh-en-Tehele Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafsa).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Agouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafsa sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey
KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Agouh-en-Tehele clan.	Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.	

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Agouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Iseḳḳemaren class. Between the Agouh-en-Tehele and the Iseḳḳemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Agouh-en-Tehele people come to the Iseḳḳemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Iseḳḳemaren visiting the Agouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhoté 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

565 614 Tuareg of the Iboglan section of the Kel Rela clan, but as he now lives outside of Ahaggar the payment is made to the Amenokal.

643 651 In the past certain vassal clans or matrilineages of clans paid their tiouse to noble Kel Rela Tuareg other than the Amenokal, while apparently other clans or lineages gave tiouse both to the Amenokal and to other Tuareg of the Kel Rela clan. But according to my investigations this did not apply to vassals of the Isekkemaren class, who should pay tiouse to the Amenokal only. Duveyrier states that three Kel Rela sections (the Iboglan, the Inemba Kel Tahat, and the Inemba Kel Emori) each had their particular vassals constituting clans or parts of clans (Duveyrier 1864, p. 375 ff.). Benhazera gives a more detailed account of relations between noble and vassal Tuareg. According to him most vassal clans paid tiouse to the Amenokal, but some clans or parts of them also gave this tribute to other noble Tuareg. And apparently there might within one and the same noble section be several Tuareg who had their individual vassals from whom they received tiouse payments (Benhazera 1908, p. 139ff.).

643 651 579 Whole groups of Tuareg outside of Ahaggar also paid an annual tribute known as tiouse to the Amenokal or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. Thus the Adrar-n-Iforas Tuareg (the Kel Adrar) gave a skin tent and a camel annually to the Amenokal, but in spite of such annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided. If foreign Tuareg paying tiouse to the Amenokal were raided by people of Ahaggar, the Amenokal, according to Foucauld, had the right to a tribute named *eunehet*, about one third of the booty taken, to be paid him by all raiders whether noble or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the Amenokal's drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the Amenokal to whom they paid tiouse for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347f.).

565 614 651 The tiouse paid to the Amenokal and other noble Tuareg by their vassals was also made in order that they should not be attacked or exploited by other Tuareg. But the relation *(temaẓlait* literally meaning "the root of the nail") between vassals and individual noble Tuareg had also an economic function, and was apparently of great value to both noble and vassal Tuareg. To make this clear I shall now briefly return to ecology.

233 511 [234] [262] [574] [281] [237] In Ahaggar camels and goats are extremely complementary to one another. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products. And the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important for food, but it is not well fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg will kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people come together, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, as tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But in raids of the past camels were very valuable riding animals, and they were then as now extremely important for caravan trading, which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic role of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays as in the past base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats, their vegetable food from caravan trading by camels.

Formerly the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). But it is confirmed by many Tuareg that throughout the 19th century the vassals had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals. As mentioned, goats and butter form part of the tiouse payments to the Amenokal, and were also an important part of the tiouse paid to other noble Tuareg of the Kel Rela. But the noble Tuareg who were masters of the small temaŕlait-units within the drum-group could apparently claim practically whatever they wanted from their vassals. The noble Tuareg, Duveyrier says, in reality had all rights over their vassals' property. But they were themselves interested in having rich vassals, and would not discourage them by claiming too much. When in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take animals from their vassals. The vassals had also an obligation to feed their noble lords, who at certain times would camp among them (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). This is also stated by Benhazera, but he claims that the vassals would not necessarily give everything demanded by noble Tuareg (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The noble Tuareg of to-day have not ceased to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts from their vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they acquire part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops, and this is considered an old privilege of the nobility.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Hoggar* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1953, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52,III, p. 1033f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *ayrid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 913ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

1947, p. 38f., phot. 15, p. 33, p. 117. – Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247ff. – Moberg 1927, photographs p. 229 & 257). Among the Southern Tuareg T-shaped posts are used in Air, where, according to my inquiries, they are found notably among the Kel Tedale, the Ikaskazan, and the Kel Fadei – Tuareg who have immigrated fairly recently from the North and are noble or predominantly noble by origin. Air tents with T-shaped posts are published by Lhote and Chudeau (Lhote 1947, fig. 4 p. 39, photo 50 p. 81. – Chudeau 1909, pl. VIII p. 62). T-shaped posts are also said to occur among the Kel Geres, and they are common in skin tents of the Kel Dinnik (Eastern Ioullemmeden) from where detailed descriptions are given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1938, p. 54ff.; 1950a, p. 153ff., p. VIII.). For other Southern Tuareg there seem to be no reliable information on the use of T-shaped posts in skin tents.

The central T-shaped posts in Tuareg skin tents may probably be considered as related to similar posts in certain black tents (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 143). This is interesting particularly when viewed in connection with Feilberg's theory that there may perhaps be a certain connection between the black tent and the one-humped camel or dromedary because of approximately similar distributions, and because camels and black tents seem to have arrived in North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Feilberg 1944, p. 117, 225ff.) – a view which has also been accepted by Hatt (Hatt 1944–45, p. 260). Obviously a theory connecting camels and black tents in Northern Africa fits very well with our assumption that the camel was introduced to Ahaggar by noble Tuareg among whom we also find the use of central T-shaped posts characteristic of certain black tents. Accordingly we have to test two theories:– 1) The theory that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin-tents are in fact derived from similar constructions of black tents, and 2) the theory that camels and black tents are historically connected in Northern Africa.

I think it can be proved that T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are derived from similar elements in black tents, and my arguments are the following:–

1) The Tuareg live in contact with Arab pastoralists who have black tents. It is stated in literature that black tents are common among the Northern Tuareg (Zeltner 1914, p. 364. – Campbell 1928, p. 247), but this is not correct. It is true, however, as already mentioned by Duveyrier, that black tents are used by some Northern Tuareg (Duveyrier 1864, p. 403f.). But as far as my knowledge goes they occur only among the northernmost Kel Ajjer, the Iforas clans, who belong to the religious Ineslemen class and by some Tuareg are claimed to be noble. Black tents seem to be used occasionally in the south by Tuareg who live in close contact with Arabs. But these Tuareg apparently use black tents only when travelling, and not in ordinary camps (Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334). Black tents are thus adopted by a few Tuareg, and many Tuareg of the north and the south-west have contact with Arab and Moorish black tent dwellers.

2) The Iforas Tuareg just mentioned use T-shaped posts both in black tents

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

and in skin tents, and according to my investigations this is, or was, also the case of the Arab pastoral tribe Ouled Ba Hamou in Tidikelt.

3) In Northern Africa T-shaped posts are frequently found in permanent dwellings, but they are then solidly embedded in the ground, whereas in Tuareg skin tents and also in black tents they stand on the surface.

4) The use of skin for tents or other movable dwellings is no doubt of very great age (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 144), while the T-shaped posts can be considered as belonging to a highly developed tent construction. To my mind there is a certain contrast in this, the more so as the posts or poles of other Tuareg skin tents are fixed in the ground.

5) Arab pastoralists now living in Tuareg countries frequently use Tuareg mat-covered huts and skin tents. Of particular interest is the type of skin tent used by the Deremchaka Arabs living among the Eastern Ioullemmeden (the Kel Dinnik). To support the sheet of skin sewn together these Arabs use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two oblique poles (Nicolas 1950a, p. 154). A similar or related construction is found in black tents of the Brakna Arabs (Caillié 1830, I, p. 130), and is common in black tents of Algeria including the northern parts of Algerian Sahara (cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff.). And according to tradition the Deremchaka Arabs immigrated from these regions (Nicolas 1950a, p. 67ff.). There seems to be little doubt that the Deremchaka Arabs have adopted a mode of construction typical of certain black tents to the Tuareg skin tent, and there may perhaps be another example of this among the Southern Tuareg:– The Tuareg known as Kel Antassar in the region of Timbuktu frequently use a very short crossbar resting on the tops of two central oblique posts to support their skin tents (Lhote 1947, p. 39, 101, 117). The Kel Antassar Tuareg are of religious status; their presumed Arab origin (cf. Delafosse 1912, I, p. 195. – Mohammed Said 1903, p. 210ff. – Richer 1924, p. 14) gives rise to the supposition that they formerly had black tents.

I think these five arguments support the theory that T-shaped posts are foreign to Tuareg skin tents while customary for black tents in use among certain Arabs of Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and Eastern Libya (cf. Laoust 1930, p. 209ff. – Feilberg 1944, p. 46ff., 146).

I shall now turn to the other theory to be tested, namely that there is a certain relation between the camel and the black tent. This theory is not easy to prove. The statement that camels and black tents have approximately the same distributions is far from convincing even if we keep to their westernmost areas. In Northern Africa camel-breeders over large areas use other types of dwelling, and black tents are very common among settled and semi-nomadic people of the Atlas, where there are no camels. The distribution of the black tent in Africa (cf. Feilberg 1944, map. II) comes indeed very close to the distribution of Arabic-speaking people, with the main exception that black tents in the Atlas and elsewhere in the north are also used by Berbers. Laoust has proved that some of these northern

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Berbers and particularly those of Central Morocco use for their black tents and for important parts of their tents terms derived from Arabic (Laoust 1930, p. 168f., 227f.).

We cannot disregard the possibility that black tents were known in Northern Africa before the first Arab invasion. But there can be little doubt that outside of the Atlas black tents are characteristic of Arabic-speaking people, and we seem to be on safe ground if we state that the Arabs are responsible for the present fairly large distribution of black tents in the desert regions between the Red Sea and the Atlantic. And the black tent may have been unknown to the Berbers before the Arab invasion. In connection with this I wish to quote the very eminent scholar Stéphane Gsell who states his opinion on the age of the black tent in Northern Africa as follows:– "Cependant elle s'est répandue tardivement chez les Berbères. Ce fut surtout après la conquête musulmane qu'ils l'adoptèrent, à l'exemple de leurs noveaux maîtres: au VIII[e] siècle, un grand nombre d'entre eux avaient des tentes, semblables à celles des Arabes" (Gsell 1920–28, V, p. 216. – cf. El Bekri p. 139).

In discussing the theory of a connection between camels and black tents, our next task is concerned with the history of the camel. For although camels and black tents have different distributions they may nevertheless be historically connected and introduced together.

Much has already been written on the history of the camel. René Basset's theory that the camel was introduced by Arabs of the first invasion (Basset 1905) is contrary to all historical information. For we know with certainty that the camel was known to the Berbers before the Arabs arrived, though it does not seem to be of very great age, contrary to Cauvet's statement (Cauvet 1925–26). Already Barth suggested that the camel came to North-Western Africa about the beginning of the Christian era (Barth 1849, I, p. 3ff.), and this theory seems to be valid (cf. Gautier 1942, p. 190ff. – Walz 1951).

Gautier claims that there is a certain connection between the introduction of the camel and the immigration to North-Western Africa of Berber tribes known as the Zenata, who lived in the northern steppes and desert regions from Tripolitania to Western Algeria. According to Ibn Khaldoun quoted by Gautier the Zenata had many traits in common with the Arabs: they lived in tents, they were camel-breeders, and they rode on horseback (Gautier 1942, p. 217 ff., 227. – cf. Ibn Khaldoun III, p. 179). The theory that the camel was introduced by the Zenata is accepted by Feilberg, who thinks that these people may have introduced the black tent together with the camel (Feilberg 1944, p. 119f., 226).

A connection between the Zenata and the camel is extremely difficult to prove. Gautier's theories on North African history are frequently very hazardous and very contradictory. Thus in his book *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord* we find the following statements about the introduction of the camel:– 1) "A tant de bienfaits Rome en a ajouté un dernier: elle a introduit le chameau, permettant ainsi la mise en

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 174 233 valeur d'immenses territoires inutilisés" (Gautier 1942, p. 209f.). 2) "Il est donc légitime d'associer le nom des Zenata à la grande révolution politique et sociale qu'a entraînée au Maghreb l'apparition du chameau. Zénète et chameau apparaissent en même temps, et tout se passe comme s'ils apparaissaient l'un portant l'autre" (Gautier 1942, p. 227). 3) "En effet, quoique Ibn Khaldoun et d'ailleurs tous les historiens arabes nous signalent les Zenata dès le début de la conquête arabe, il semble qu'au VII[e] siècle les Zenata n'aient pas été encore, aussi exclusivement que plus tard, les représentants du grand nomadisme" (Gautier 1942, p. 227)

Gautier says about the Tuareg: "Ces gens-là sont de grands nomades chameliers; dans nulle autre tribu ce caractère n'est aussi marqué et c'est cela même qui fait leur originalité" (Gautier 1942, p. 240). Most Arab historians confirm that the 175 Tuareg are in particular camel-breeders, and the Tuareg do not belong to the 101 Zenata group. According to Ibn Khaldoun the Berbers fall into two great divisions: 233 1) The *Botr* descending from *Madghis-Ibn-Berr*, and comprising the Zenata group and several other tribes. 2) The *Beranes* descending from *Bernes-Ibn-Berr*. Several Berber tribes and among them most Tuareg belong to this division (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 168ff.).

It is interesting that Tuareg camels are frequently referred to in Arab literature 175 as being of a particular light and slender breed extremely well fitted for riding 233 (Ibn Khaldoun II, p. 70, 105. – Edrisi p. 11, 67f., 144f. – Leo Africanus p. 940f.). To-day there is a marked distinction between the camels of the north found mainly 171 among Arabs, and the camels of the south among the Tuareg. The Arab camel is 233 heavily built and particularly fitted for luggage, and the Tuareg say it is also superior as a milk-producer. It has a thick covering of wool around the hump and on the forepart of the body. The southern camel as found among the Tuareg is very different. It has a slender built, short hair, and is particularly fitted for riding as mentioned by the ancient Arab authors. These two different camel-breeds apparently exist all over Northern Africa from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, and the heavy and woolly type seems to be characteristic of Arabs (cf. Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 415f. – Murray 1935, p. 92ff. – Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 79ff.), who are also the [177] true black-tent dwellers. It is possible that the Arabs have introduced the black [342] tent into Northern Africa together with a particular breed of camel, while another breed was introduced before the Arabs.

The cultural position of camel-breeding has never been thoroughly studied. As I have pointed out elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1959a), it is peculiar that so many customs connected with camels are also typical of cow-breeding of the East African cattle complex (cf. Baumann 1940. – Herskovits 1926. – Kroll 1928). The common [462] traits seem to be the following:– 1) All work connected with camels and oxen is [825] done by men. 2) Camels and oxen have important social functions and their [538] breeders take an interest in these animals beyond their practical importance. Both camels and oxen play an important part in poetry, which is frequently characterised by a tendency towards identification between man and beast (cf. Evans Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925-30, I-II).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Pritchard 1940. – Foucauld 1925–30, I–II). 3) As mentioned (p. 113) camel's milk is not well fitted for churning butter, but it can be used as is the case among certain Arab bedouins of the Northern Sahara and according to my investigations possibly also among the Kel Ajjer who live close to Arab pastoralists, and among the Moors (Monteil 1952, p. 73). In most Tuareg groups camel's milk is only occasionally used for butter which is not eaten but employed as a hair ointment. Among some East African cattle breeders butter is also churned for this very purpose. 4) All Tuareg and perhaps all Arab camel-breeders use the stuffed skin of a deceased camel-calf to deceive the mother animal during milking – for camels like cows will not generally yield milk unless their calves are present. This custom is widely distributed among cattle-breeders of the Old World. 5) Camel's urine is considered curative and purifying, although it is not used for cleaning milk bowls or added to milk or butter as among certain East African cattle-breeders. 6) The custom of bleeding living camels to utilize their blood is practised by Tuareg when lost in the desert without water and food. This very custom is also practised by the Tebu and by Arab pastoralists of Arabia. Among the latter camel's blood is apparently used frequently in periods of hunger (Cauvet 1925, I, p. 701. – Finbert 1938, p. 39). This custom may have been more common among camel-breeders previous to Islam which forbids the use of blood. 7) Tuareg camel-calves which are very eager for milk and difficult to wean may be cut in two or three places on the bridge of the nose; the wounds will hurt when the calves try to suckle. On adult animals scars from these wounds will appear as small bumps. They are believed to add to the beauty of riding camels and are nowadays made predominantly for aesthetic reasons. As a means to prevent suckling the same method is also applied to oxen by southern Tuareg, and Mr. Huntingford has informed me that Nilo-Hamites of East-Africa have the same custom. 8) In the south camels are not always branded with a red-hot iron as among the Northern Tuareg and the Arabs. Most Kel Ferouan clans use earmarks cut with a knife, and this is the case of other Air Tuareg, e.g. the Kel Fadei, some of the Ikaskazan, and the Ifadeyen. Earmarks are possibly also used by some of the Moors of the Western Sahara, who still use certain Berber words in connection with camel-breeding (Monteil 1952, p. 103).

Tuareg camel-breeding has traits in common with cow-breeding, and they may be due to historical relations between breeding of camels and cows. The domestication of the camel may have taken place in a pastoral culture similar of the East African cattle complex. In that case the type of dwelling characteristic of camel-breeding may have been a barrel-vaulted hut or tent. Pastoral cow-breeders of Africa and Asia generally use this type of dwelling, and huts or tents of arch construction are extremely common among the Tuareg. Mat-covered arched huts like those of Air are known also to the Kel Geres, some of the Eastern Ioullemmeden, and to other Tuareg further west in Southern Tuareg country – in particular those living close to the Niger (Lhote 1947, p. 71, 79. – Nicolas 1938, p. 62; 1950a, p. 156f. – Barth 1857–58, I, p. 372f., 597f., V, p. 201. – Delafosse 1912, I, p. 334. –

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air
Ahaggar

342

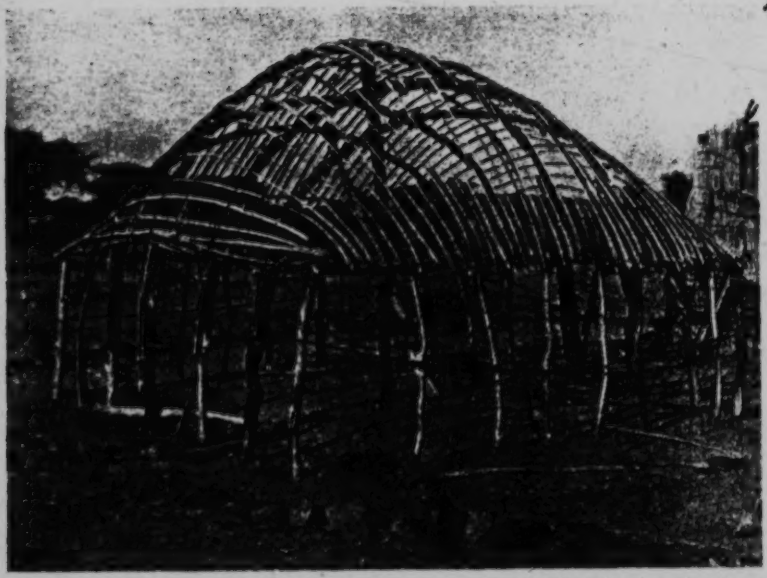


Fig. 14.–The skeleton of an arched mat-covered hut constructionally related to that shown fig. 13 but more elaborately and solidly built. The arches are made from lashed bundles of very slender sticks fastened to short poles embedded in the ground as is the heavy central post supporting the whole construction. – This type of hut is used among settled agriculturists of the Air villages, and is due to influence from pastoral Tuareg.

arched mat-covered tent, and the noble Kel Ferouan claim that they have never used any other type. The Western Ioullemmeden (Kel Ataram) use a skin tent consisting of three or four parallel pairs of posts each pair being connected with a horizontal crossbar (Lhote 1947, p. 85f., photographs 59–64). Gabus claims this dwelling as typical of the noble Tuareg (Gabus 1945, p. 15). I think that most probably it developed from a dwelling constructionally related to the arched mat-covered tent like that of Air. The common type of skin tent nowadays used in Ahaggar and Adrar-n-Iforas is of a somewhat related type (Lhote 1947, p. 42f., photographs 7–8, 11–13, 20–21.; 1955, p. 254ff. – Foley 1930, p. 12f., pl. IV, 6–7. – Briggs 1958, p. 92, fig. 36. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 103). It is apparently not possible to refer Tuareg arched tents exclusively to vassals, and it should be noted that in Tassili-n-Ajjer the dwelling typical of the vassal class is a straw hut constructionally related to a round house with conical roof (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 89, 104).

184 342

[565]

Finally I shall now return to our main problem, namely the history of Tuareg political systems. We have explained their origin from the meeting of two distinct cultures, and we have seen that in the past the noble class was connected with

174 233

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

342
417

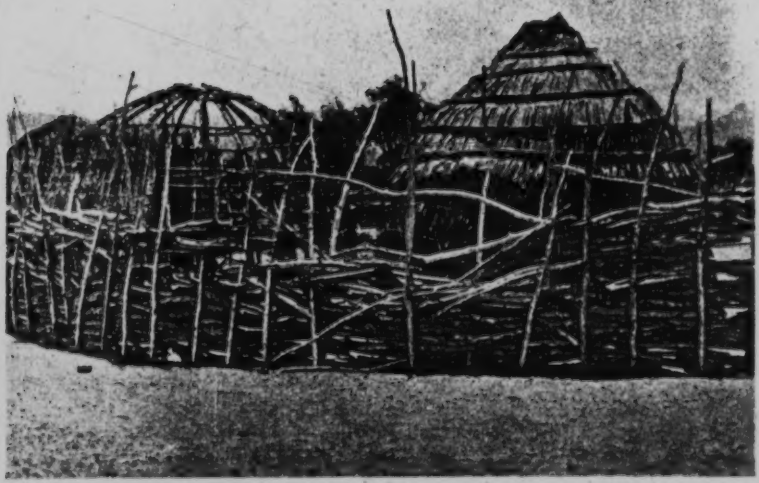


Fig. 15.–Beehive huts within a round enclosure at the village of Iferouan in Northern Air. The construction seen on this photograph consists of arches made from lashed bundles of slender sticks fastened to poles embedded in the ground. Horizontal sticks are fastened to the arches which are supported by a central forked post with a short crossbar placed on its top. For a detailed description of this construction see Foureau 1905, III, p. 885 f. Beehive huts in Air are also made from boughs embedded in the ground and tied together at the top without a central post.

174 camel-breeding. The camel is known to have been very common in Tripolitania
233 in the 4th century A.D. It was introduced to this region a few centuries before that time, and it was known in Egypt about the year 500 B.C. It is therefore probable that the camel was introduced into the Central Sahara even prior to the first Arab invasion of the 7th century. Camel-breeding seems to have certain traits in common with pastoral cow-breeding, and the oldest camel-breeders of Northern Africa may have lived in tents or huts of arch construction – most possibly in so-called barrel-vaulted dwellings, which appear to have been extremely common in Northern Africa throughout Antiquity (cf. Le Coeur 1937. – Feilberg 1944, p. 202 f.).

174 The T-shaped posts of Tuareg skin tents are apparently historically related to
[342] similar posts of Arab black tents in Eastern Algeria, Tunis, Tripolitania, and
[565] Eastern Libya. Considering the fact that T-shaped posts among the Northern Tuareg are claimed to be characteristic of the noble class, there may be a certain connection between noble Tuareg of the North and Arabs. I have mentioned above
[184] that in the North the term for noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren*, sing. *Ahaggar*) is different
[192] from the term used in other Tuareg groups (*Imacheren*, sing. *Amachey*). I have also

241 /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during
621 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

Animal Raising

● 233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

233 /77 cont./ in the Tamesna, while 4, 500 stay in the Ahaggar. /78/ The goats and sheep stay near the tents and find their sustenance more or less easily. The donkeys that live in freedom are perhaps the best adapted animals. Several zebus used for drawing water in the agricultural centers are poorly fed.

It does not appear that animal raising is destined to increase much, as the climatic conditions do not permit much enlargement of the herds.

The camel is indispensable to the Tuareg; without it they could not live in the Ahaggar. The Targui-camel partnership is seen throughout the region; it is necessary; it is part of the scenery. One sees the double silhouette outlined on the crests of the central plateaus, or tracing a network of paths on the black lava regs, or printing the sand with the parallel tracks of the Targui and the camel. This strange beast seems a holdover from another age; despite its antediluvian appearance and its stiff limbs -- only its neck is supple -- it manages to climb up slopes for grazing where man sometimes has trouble following.

As far as the camel is concerned, the term animal raising seems inappropriate. For the Targui the camel is his life; thanks to it, he is able to travel at will in the desert, make his commercial exchanges, and stay for months in a region without wells if the pasturage is good. The camel is his joy; it enables him to demonstrate his masculinity; it is also the object of his fears when it is sick or when it has disappeared after breaking its fetters, making it necessary for the Targui to follow its tracks for days in order to recapture it.

The camel also is wealth, the scale of values, the gift for a birth or a marriage; it is the noble animal.

There are about 12, 000 camels in the Ahaggar. It would be tedious to enumerate the wealth of each tribe, but let us note that the Dag Rali alone possess a fifth of the herd.

The Tuareg distinguish three races of camels: a race of the Ahaggar, one of the Sudan, and a race of the north called

233/78 cont. / "maroki." The Sudan camel is the largest, generally has /79/ a light coat, is strong and fast; when it is very fat, its hump becomes high; it must have plenty of nourishment and fares badly on poor pasturage. When it is in good shape, it can carry 200 kilograms of merchandise.

The Ahaggar camel is smaller but always has a nice bearing; its coat may be light, but many of these camels are dark. When it is fat, its hump does not rise much but overflows on the sides; a more frugal eater than the Sudan camel, it can get along on meager pastures. If it runs more slowly, it climbs better; its feet become overheated on the sand but will hold up on jagged pebbles. It cannot carry more than about 150 kilograms.

There are not many maroki in the Ahaggar. It is smaller than the others but much stronger; in comparason with them it seems awkward. It requires abundant food, but in exchange can carry up to 300 kilograms. Generally dark colored, the maroki has a thick coat.

233
192 The Tuareg vocabulary to designate the camel is rich, a proof of the interest in the animal. The generic term is "amis," "imenas" in the plural. "Amadjor" is also generic but is used in the sense of: "camel seen in the distance but not identified." The plural is "imoudjar." The female camel is called "talemt" (plural: "tillemin"); "timetirout" (plural: "timetterouin") means "pregnant camel." The newborn camel is called "aoura"; at one year it is called "ag aouatey"; at two years, "allogùès"; three years, "akanafoud"; four years (the teeth begin to grow but do not emerge), "ara'ler"; five years (two teeth), "ag essin"; six years (four teeth), "ag okkoz"; seven years (six teeth), "Ammessedis"; eight years (two canines), "aoutahaliat"; adult and old camels intermingle so that a Targui is incapable of saying how old camels live to be; some die young, some old, but the Targui never gives an [777] opinion as to age, for that could be bad luck.

233 192 /79 cont./ When the young camel is weaned it is called "assaka"; when it is trained, one says "abal" or "amougui." The stud camel is called "amali."

Generous with the names bestowed on the camel, the Tuareg are even more wordy when it comes to describing the camel's color. /80/ While green or bright red spread on a paper is poorly appraised, the imperceptible nuances of a camel's coat are distinguished in precise fashion; this is because the colors that we mentioned are abstractions, while the difference between two grays is concrete, being the difference between two observed, known, and perhaps loved camels.

The correspondence between the colors expressed by the Tamashek words and the French shades is arbitrary; another investigator could quite well give another scale just as valid.

White: beïdedj; dark gray: iendjelan; fawn: iebramine; light fawn: atlar; fawn brown: ibazaouane; black: ikaoualane; black and white: azelraf; dirty white: idegnassen; gazelle: ierrane; light gray: ibahouane; green tones: israfane; reddish white: ilemlarane; reddish brown: ihaggarène; between red and yellow: ietlarine; the one with the blue eyes: iouinaran; the one with the white mouth: imoulssan.

According to what an animal is used for or according to his merits, there are about 20 other names, a few examples of which follow:

Saddle camel: "amis ouan tarik"; pack camel: "amis ouan edjidji"; saddle camel for a woman: "amis ouan takhaouit." Tired camel: "yaddah"; wounded camel: "yakoder"; well-trained camel: "iounane"; a hard camel to mount: "irraguel."

233 There is no need to repeat here the characteristics of the camel, its sobriety, its endurance, its fragility, too; let us remember, though, /81/ that when it "drinks its fill," it downs up to 120 liters of water.

In a moist pasture, whose grass is green, of course, the camel stays practically without drinking; when it is mounted or packed, having to undertake a journey across a strictly

●233 /81 cont./ desert region or one lacking verdure, it can go for four or five days in summer and about eight days in winter without eating or drinking.

If the Tuareg have the reputation of being good camel trainers, it is because they begin training the camel when it is about two years old. The young camel is seized, and a "tiriouit" is passed over its mouth. The tiriouit is an arrangement of ropes which encloses the head something like a muzzle. A long rope serves as a rein; the trainer mounts bareback behind the nump, and does this for three or four days. The young camel begins to know the man, and then an "akala" is put on him; this is simply a rope securely tied to the lower jaw. A saddle is put on the camel for the first time, preferably the "tahlast" type, which is sturdier. For three months, the young camel is taught how to walk straight and to let itself be led wherever desired. The training is finished only after a year, at which time the "tiguemt" is inserted. This is the ring in the nose through which passes the "tarant" which finally classifies the animal as "assaka" or "amougui."

The training for pack camels is much simpler. The animal is fettered by the two front feet, a tiriouit is passed over its head, and it is attached to a tree by a very short rope. It is kept there for two days without eating, then is untied but not unfettered, so that it may find food by jumping in a ridiculous fashion from tuft to tuft. From that time, the animal is ready to be an "amis ouan edjidji." The female camels may also be trained at about the age of two years, either for the saddle or for the pack. The Tuareg only use them when their milk is dried up.

The camels do not breed at will, for the Tuareg select the males.

A half-bred Sudan-Ahaggar camel is preferred as sire.

/82/ The future sire must have certain well-determined physical characteristics; most particularly examined are the form of the legs, the length of the tail, and the size of the

●233/82 cont. / testicle sac; a large head is a favorable sign, as is a white coat.

[232] The Tuareg keep one male for 30 or 40 females; all the other males are castrated: "ennedi." The castration is done rather late in order not to interfere with the development of the animal, which will always be used as a mount or as a pack animal.

The sires having been chosen, the breeding takes place without control by man. The male pursues the female and obliges her to squat down, either by putting his neck on hers or by biting her foot. Females in heat sometimes solicit the male. The covering is made after the female has been brought to squat with the male behind her; his hind legs are completely folded, his pectoral callus rests on the female's back, and his front legs are placed along her breast to keep her prisoner. The covering lasts, it seems, half an hour; after two hours, the male can begin another covering. When all the females of the herd are impregnated, the sire grazes and rests for nearly three months.

The female camel carries her young for 12 months, sometimes 11; she bears one young camel (the Tuareg questioned have never seen twin camels born). A good milk camel gives six liters at each milking, but she is only half milked, the rest being saved for the baby camel, which begins to eat only at the age of about three months.

When the female camel goes to graze during the day, followed by her colt, she wears an "abedjo" over the udder so the young camel cannot suck. The abedjo is a sort of coarse net attached to the loins and exactly covering the udder (it is made with cord from fibers of tahla branches: "ikakaben," extremely strong and rough, which repulses the young camel).

Goats constitute a veritable fortune for the /83/ Tuareg. They are content with the meager pastures of the dry years; they graze near the tents, to which they return each night to sleep. They are seen everywhere in the Ahaggar, even in the places that at first sight seem the most bleak.

• 233 /83 cont./ The Ahaggar goat (a goat: "tirsi"; plural: "oulli") is small, lively, a good walker. It has long black hair, but crossing it with Sudanese goats gives offspring with black and white coats. Milk production is very variable according to the seasons and the abundance and quality of the pastures. A very good milch goat may produce nearly two liters of milk per day, a month after having given birth. The average production is about one liter a day for the two milkings. Goat's milk furnishes butter, "oudi amellen," which is cooked to preserve it: "oudi"; it also is made into the different cheeses (let us recall that camel's milk is used only for drinking).

It is estimated that there are about 20, 000 goats in the Ahaggar, although there may be more. The Tuareg keep one male for about 50 females. The Ahaggar goat bears one [262] kid, sometime two, but very rarely. The male kids are always eaten young; they constitute the bulk of meat consumption by the Tuareg.

[283] Goat hair is used to make ropes of all sorts, and we shall see how the hide is used in making all of the Tuareg furniture.

Sheep raising is very limited; the number of head would hardly come to a tenth of the caprine livestock, and most of the sheep are found in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The sheep raised in the Ahaggar is a native of the Sudan; long legged, it has no wool but long stiff hairs, generally fawn colored. Its meat is excellent. It is a robust animal, a good walker, but according to the Tuareg does not bear up well during the dry years in the Ahaggar, the pastures not being sufficiently nourishing. This sheep /84/ accomplishes considerable feats; the Tuareg drive flocks from the Adrar des Iforas to the markets of the Tidikelt and the Aïr in the Ahaggar. These migrations are carried out, of course, in the winter, but the regs crossed are truly poor in water points, and the pastures are sufficiently rare to make these journeys a remarkable exploit.

233 [262] /84 cont./Ewe's milk is mixed with goat's milk; the hides are also used in all sorts of leatherwork. Mutton is considered choice meat and is the preference for serving to an important guest.

The ox is imported from the Sudan; it is a zebu with the characteristic hump. It is used for drawing water in the agricultural centers. However, it can live in freedom in the wadis of the Ahaggar. The amenokal owns a herd which has gone wild: when he wants a beast, he must have it shot. The oxen eat the tahlis which grow abundantly on the rocky shelves of the wadis; they drink from the numerous gueltas. This ox is a sturdy animal capable of going from the Tamesna region to the Ahaggar across desolate regs.

Milk production is practically negligible, since there are at most 300 bovids /sic/ in the Ahaggar.

The hide is used to make the large dellous /skin sacks/ for drawing water and the bottas for keeping butter in.

The bull is called: "essou" (plural: "issouan"); the cow: "tessout" (plural: "tissita").

The donkey ("eled"; plural: "ieldan") is, perhaps, the animal best adapted to the Ahaggar. The Tuareg say: "It eats everything, green or dry." It is of average size, with a rather light coat and a large darker cross on the back. The donkey [492] is used for camp chores; it goes to fetch water and wood. It carries nearly the whole load when moving; it is the mount of the women, children, and Negroes. Some travelers claim to have seen onagers in the Ahaggar; these were actually donkeys reverted to the wild state: the Tuareg, not being able to keep them near their camps because of the paucity of pastures, /85/ let them run free. Thus it is that herds of donkeys are seen in silhouette on the mountains or fleeing in the wadis as men approach. The donkeys drink at the permanent water points, and their habitual approaches to them are marked by narrow, well-trodden paths.

233 /85 cont./ When the Tuareg want to recapture some of these animals, they organize veritable battues and must use a great deal of cleverness and energy to succeed. It is necessary to break these donkeys in order to fit them for domestic use, for many of them are born wild.

It is estimated that there are 5, 000 donkeys in the Ahaggar, but this figure is certainly too conservative.

[262] The flesh of the donkey is not eaten, nor is the milk of the female drunk.

A few horses, most of them originating in the Sudan, are to be found in certain agricultural centers. A "luxury" animal, the horse (aïs) cannot live off the Ahaggar pastures. When well nourished with barley, it bears the climate perfectly well and can be used as a mount in the mountains of the Ahaggar where water points are numerous.

Lastly, chickens are raised by the harratin in all the
231 agricultural centers; they are lean fowl which find practically all of their own food. The harratin chiefly eat the eggs,
[439] rather rarely the meat, which is sold to the Europeans.

/87/

IV
Material Life

Dwelling

342 The Tuareg, as true nomads, use the tent for habitation,
281 and sometimes, in exceptional circumstances, the zériba.

The Tuareg tent is made of skins sown together and specially prepared. Its red tint, which harmonizes with the dominant tones of the Ahaggar landscape, is agreeable to the eye. For making the tent (éhakit), goat, sheep, wild sheep, and, very rarely, cattle skins are used; the skins of wild sheep are considered the best. After being stripped of its hair, the

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

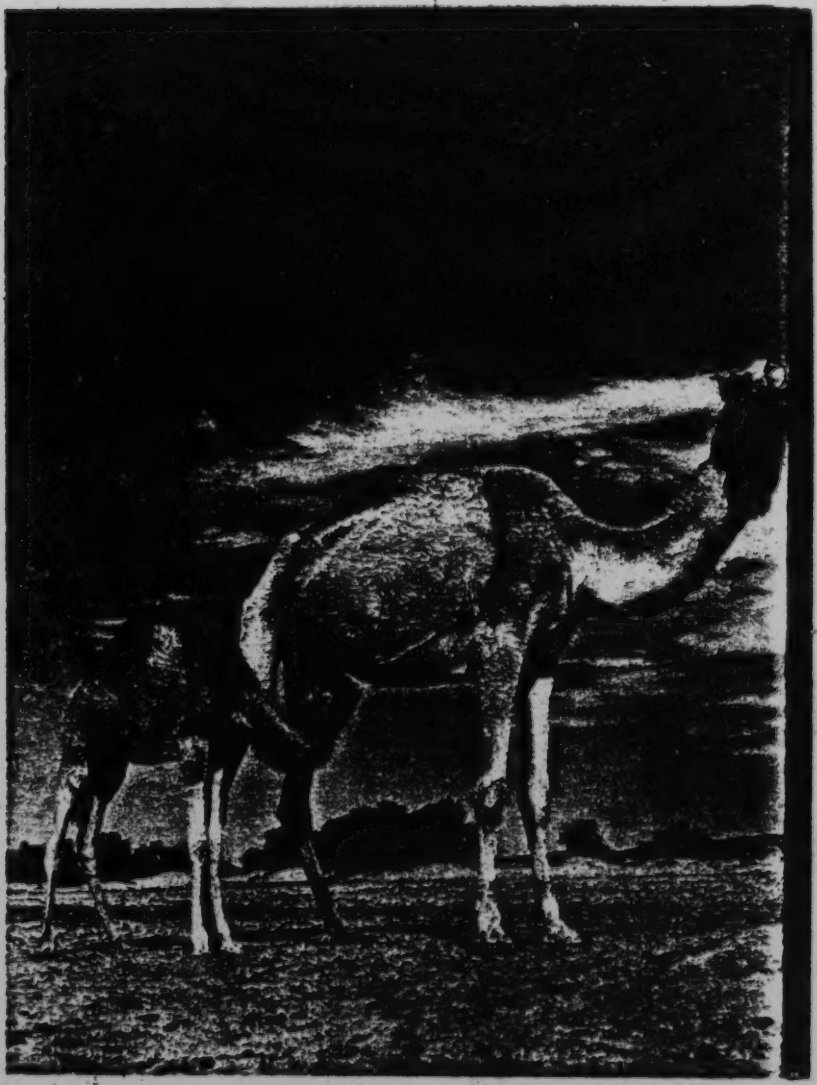
233
291

28. In the pastureland rounding up the animals.

[p. 215]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233



29. In the pastureland in the Amded wadi.

[p. 216]

6:Blanguernon Y-5 (1937-1954) 1955 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233
284
516

30. On a stopover the animals are hobbled for the night.

[p. 217]

●233

[For additional information about stock-breeding--mainly camels, sheep, and goats--see category 116, pp. 33-73; 117; 119-21; 125-36; 138-42; 146-47; 150-54. Information concerning animal husbandry relating to horses, donkeys, and zebu cattle has been marked for category 231 since these do not involve large-scale pastoral activities.]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

132 When rain is falling in Ahaggar water immediately flows down the rocky mountain slopes into the sandy river valleys, which may become flooded shortly after rain has started. Indeed, the flood will often rise so suddenly and violently that camels and other animals grazing in the valleys are caught by the strong foaming stream of water. Even humans have been killed by the sudden rise of a flood, but most people will not camp in the river bed itself late in summer when heavy rainfalls are expected to occur. A river valley will generally not be flooded for more than one or two days, but it may, after extremely heavy rain, contain water for a week or even longer. This was the case in the summer of 1953 when the valley of Abalessa in Ahaggar turned into an immense river more than a hundred metres
137 wide. Owing to such heavy rainfalls it is possible for perennial plants with a well developed root-system to survive near the river valleys even in dry years. Outside the river valleys there is very little vegetation of perennial plants in Ahaggar. The bulk of the country has no permanent vegetation, and permanent plants are always more abundant along the broad river valleys of the lower country than along the narrow valleys higher up in the mountains.

Pastures of annual plants may spring up almost anywhere in the desert – even in the otherwise barren countries of *ténéré* and *tanezrufi*, where they then constitute valuable fodder for the camels of passing caravans. Rainfall in Ahaggar is most common in the highest parts of the country, where, on the other hand, little perennial vegetation is found. In periods of drought this region is so to speak nothing but rocks and boulders, while after rain in summer it becomes covered with a green curtain of annual plants. South of Ahaggar important perennial vegetation is not found until we arrive at the outskirts of the Adrar and Ayr Mountains, where it is extremely rich compared with Ahaggar. Indeed in Southern Ayr trees and bushes may form dense forests in the valleys outside of which there is also some perennial vegetation. The Ayr Mountains belong to a special zone of vegetation termed *sahel* by French geographers (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 26 ff.). From an economic point of view the main
[132] characteristic of this zone, which includes Ayr and Adrar, is that it has a fixed wet season and consequently pastures of annual plants spring up every year over large areas. South of Ayr and Adrar the zone of *sahel* gradually changes into the Sudanese savannah.

137 Tuareg country thus falls into three distinct zones of vegetation with rather different conditions
311 for stock-breeding:—
● 233 1) *True Desert* comprising the territories of *Kel Ahaggar* and *Kel Ajjer*. Rainfall is irregular, and pastures of annual plants do not spring up every year. The main livestock are goats, while sheep are bred only to a very limited extent, and the nomads have no cattle.

2) *Sahel* comprising Adrar and Ayr and part of the plains situated between these two mountain massifs. This zone has some of the characteristics of the true desert, but it has a fixed wet season in summer and consequently pastures of annual plants develop every year. Goats are very important and so are sheep; most nomads keep a few cows (zebus).

3) *Savannah* covering mainly the territories of *Kel Geres*, *Iwillemmeden*, and *Kel Tademaket*. Perennial plants grow over extensive plains, and there is a regular spring of annual vegetation. The main kinds of livestock are cows and sheep. In the savannah Tuareg nomads frequently have horses as riding animals, whereas in the two former zones horses are normally bred only by sedentary people. – Camels and donkeys are bred by all Tuareg.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*492
[415
283
284

Fig. 70a–b. Tuareg camel whips (*alekkoḍ*, pl. *ilekkaḍ*).

a. Whip with a single lash. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.08 m long. (M.N. G. 1.138).
b. Whip with two lashes. Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the *Uraɣen* tribe. Dimension: 0.845 m long. (Author's collection).

Fig. 71. The drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned brass and fixed to its ornamented leather cord (*témettrek*) by means of which it is attached to the saddle pommel (cf. Fig. 49). Ahaggar, the *Aɣuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the bowl: 0.258 m in diameter (upper part). Dimension of the leather cord: 0.685 m long. (N. M. G. 5287).

*492
562

donkeys, but, as in the North, they sometimes mount the riding camels of men sitting across the animal behind the saddle.

*492
531
●233
192

The Tuareg take a keen interest in the adornment of all objects used for riding camels. The richly decorated saddles and the ornaments of the riding gear express the particular value attached to the animals used for riding. But Tuareg interest in camels is perhaps more clearly understood, when we consider their rich camel vocabulary.

The Tuareg have one word which can be used for any camel regardless of its sex and age, its colour, and all other particular qualities. This word (*amaɣur*, pl. *imuɣar* in the northern dialect) does not seem to have its equivalents in vocabularies of other domestic animals which collectively are referred to by means of a sex term of adult animals (e.g., *ulli* = "goats"). The word *amaɣur* (pl. *imuɣar*) is used in conversation, but it is heard less frequently than camel terms which have a very definite meaning.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

415
492*
237
531

Fig. 72a–b. Leather bags for camel riders.

a. Large saddle bag known as *eljebira* (*eljebira*) and used by all riders. Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen, manufactured by the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez (Ayr). Dimension: 0.70 × 0.70 m. (N.M. G. 1.108).

b. Large luggage bag (*absaw*). Collected in Ahaggar by Olufsen. Dimension: 1.20 m long. (N.M. G. 1.136).

In a few words camel vocabulary has the characteristics mentioned under the following items:— (1) Sex terms; (2) Age terms which, like most camel terms, also refer to the sex; (3) Colour terms; (4) Terms for very special qualities; (5) Terms for camels according to their training and use; (6) Terms for camels in very definite situations; (7) Terms for the number of camels in a herd; (8) Many entirely synonymous terms. 233 192

The Northern Tuareg use the term *gmis* (pl. *immas*) for all male camels including geldings, and the term *talemt* (pl. *tellemin*) for all she-camels. In Ayr a male camel is known as *alem* (pl. *immas*) and a

[text continues on p. 95]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

492*
237
531

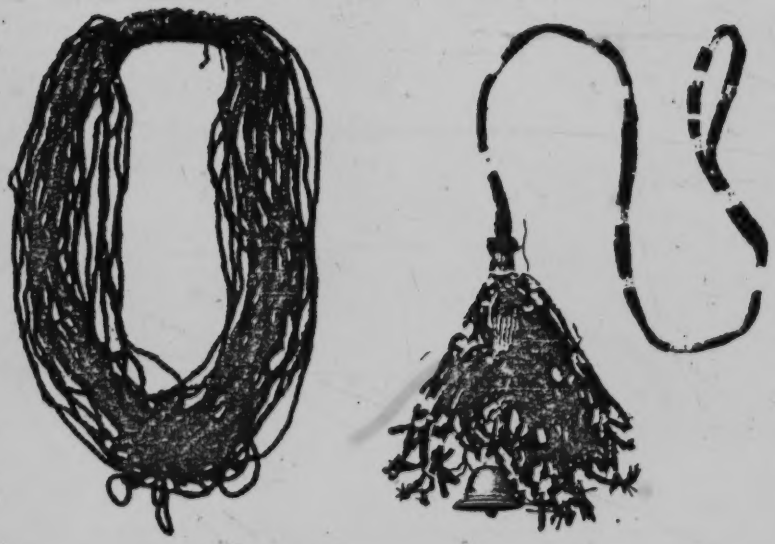


Fig. 74a–b. Neck collars for riding camels.

a. Collar made from fine cords of goat's hair. It is called *takawt*. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the winding seen at the top: 0.07 m long. (N.M. G. 5193).

b. Neck collar (*takawt*) plaited from goat's hair, ornamented with coloured thread, and provided with a small brass bell (*anayna*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.995 m long. (N.M. G. 5191).

she-camel as *talemt* (pl. *tollemin*). In both groups a bull-camel is termed *amali* which word is generally used only for bull-camels reserved for breeding.

233 ①
192

The Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have definite age terms for camels until they are eight years old. These terms may be seen from the list on p. 102 where they are mentioned in their feminine forms. At the age of eight years the dentition of a camel is fully developed and later it becomes more difficult to state its exact age. Camels older than eight years are therefore generally known by one and the same term as long as they are strong enough to be used for riding and transportation, or for breeding. The age terms used among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr are different from those mentioned from the north. They are used with precision for camels up to eight years old, and if the exact age of a camel is known by the owner he may continue to apply such terms for camels up to fifteen years old. Older camels are just referred to as "camels" or "old camels".

Colour terms of camels are many. I find it appropriate to list colour terms of the Northern Tuareg

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*492
531
562

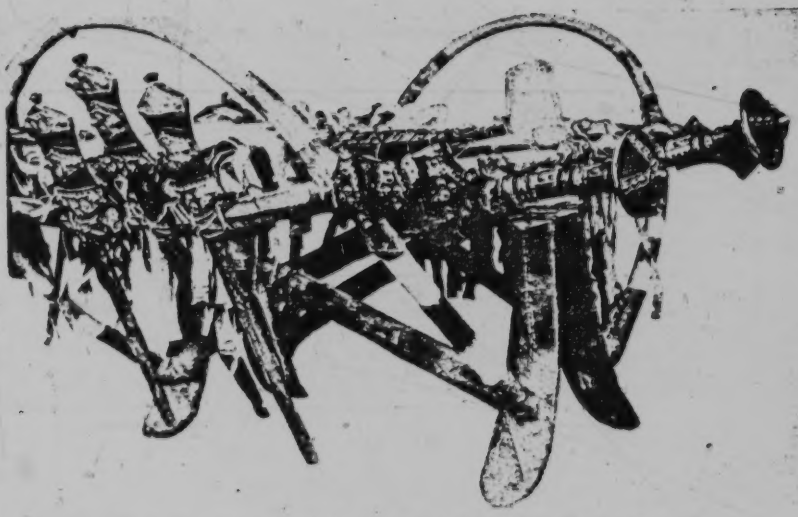


Fig. 75. Women's camel saddle (*akhawi*). Ahaggar, noble tribes. (Musée de l'homme).

●233
192

and the Ayr Tuareg separately, because they frequently use different terms for the same colours and because the Ayr Tuareg have a great many piebald animals which seem to be rare in the north. In the north most animals are of one colour, and the common terms of Ahaggar camels are the following:— *adegnas* (dirty white), *ébeydeġ* (white), *éberim* (whitish yellow), *aṭlaṛ* (mahogany), *abẓaw* (whitish), *émengel* (dark grey), *alemlaṛ* (grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey), *ahaggar* or *ézegger* (red), *abhaw* (reddish-brown), and *ékawél* (black). There are a few other terms. I have noted the following terms of piebald camels in Ahaggar:— *éḍemḍem* (a dark or red camel being white on the nose or around the mouth), *iiger* (a camel with white legs), and *azerraf* which term seems to be applied to all camels of two colours, and also to other piebald domestic animals.

I have noted the following terms of camels of one colour among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr:— *adegnas* or *wa mellen* (white), *abẓaw* (whitish), *aṭlaṛ* (mahogany), *égadé* (light brown), *awraṛ* (something between light grey and light brown), *éberhey* (something between whitish and light grey), *aberog* (greyish), *ingal* (dark grey), *ézerif* (metallic grey). Most camels of one colour belong to one of these shades, which are frequently so close to each other that a correct description and translation into European colour words is difficult. Most one-coloured camels I have seen in Ayr were *adegnas*, *abẓaw*, *aṭlaṛ*, and *ézerif*, but piebald camels seem to be more common than the unicoloured animals. I have noted the following terms of piebald animals:— *amulas* (white blaze, white colour around the mouth, the remainder of the animal being dark), *agusrer* (the back and partly also the neck greyish

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

492*
531
562

Fig. 76. The two large cushions (*ésəg*, pl. *éstigən*) which form the basis of the woman's camel saddle in Ayr. The *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 1.90 m. (N.M. G. 6659a-b).

233
192

brown, the remainder of the animal white), *énil* (dark grey with white colours on the belly, the hind thighs, and the four legs), *awinaḳ* (dark grey back but with white on the sides close to the hump, on the hind thighs and legs, on the forelegs, and on the tail), *azurzum* (white on the hind thighs, the remainder plain), *ajmilal* (camel with numerous small circular spots close to each other), *azerraf* (camel of two colours, black and white, or black and red; there is no definite rule for the distribution of these

7

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*492
562

Fig. 77. The woman's riding saddle built upon large cushions (*éstigen*). Ayr, the *Imezureg* tribe.

●233 192 two colours on the animal). There are other terms for piebald camels, but I have only mentioned the colours I have seen myself, as it is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to note down colour terms without seeing the animals. One characteristic of many piebald Ayr camels has not been mentioned above: They very frequently have red-white eyes, and such animals according to the Tuareg are always deaf. Red-white eyes and deafness seem to go together with certain forms of piebaldness, so that all camels termed *azerraf* and *ajmilal*, and some camels termed *agusrer*, *awinaḳ*, and *azurzum* are deaf. *[492] This, however, does not prevent the Tuareg from using these animals for riding and transportation, and even deaf bull-camels are frequently used in breeding.

The Northern Tuareg have a great many different terms for particular qualities of their camels which are named after their way of roaring and walking. The following examples come from the Ahaggar Tuareg:— *ahenderremma* or *aṛenennas* (a camel which has the habit of neighing with joy when it sees something very agreable; e.g., a she-camel seeing its calf when it returns to the camp from grazing), *émerreġreġ* (camel which roars mournfully when it becomes separated from its master, or from another camel with which it normally grazes; certain camels are particularly attached to each other and never separate during grazing), *aṛewaha* (a camel which has the habit of uttering the plaintive roaring named *taṛewahit* during loading and unloading), *aseḳḳelela* (a rutting camel uttering the sound named *teṛelelit*). The Ahaggar Tuareg have other terms for camels to denote their behaviour. Thus there is a particular term for a camel which becomes scared when walking in a caravan after sunset so that it throws off its load and gives rise to a lot of panic among the other caravan animals.

As examples of camel terms given according to the animals' way of walking, mention should be made of following examples from Ahaggar:— *ategemtegam* (camel which takes very short steps), *aseffakas* or *alemdeyyas* (camel which takes very long steps). The Tuareg of Ahaggar have many special terms for camel-gaits. To indicate this I quote the detailed description of gaits given by Fou-

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

133
233

Fig. 78. She-camel with the colour name *tazarzumt* Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

cauld:— ***sekkedi*** (to let camels trot very slowly at an artificial gait known as ***téredeyt***), ***setteles***, or ***sellwen*** (to let camels walk at a normal ambling pace), ***eg senat-senat*** (to let camels trot slowly at a gait known as ***senat-senat***), ***sekkeber***, ***keburet***, and ***keberkeber*** (a kind of trotting named ***akabur*** which is somewhat faster than ***senat-senat***), ***regiregi*** (to let camels pace or trot at the types of gait known as ***tétalist***, ***senat-senat***, and ***akabur***), ***eg yukey-eder-tayit*** (to let camels adopt a fast trot known as ***yukey-eder-tayit***), ***uylal*** (to let camels adopt a sharp trot), ***enteg*** (to let a camel gallop), ***awdet*** (to let camels trot or gallop; this verb does not refer to any particular type of gait but to several, from the slow trot known as ***senat-senat*** to the very fast gallop known as ***tabederat***). These gait-terms are used only for camels, but the Tuareg also have terms for gaits of other domestic animals – particularly for those of horses (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 553 ff.). The gait known as ***téredeyt*** is considered very elegant by the Tuareg, who train camels to walk in this way already when the animals are very young. This is done by means of a large and wide hobblerope tied around the forelegs above the knees the animals being forced to walk by whipping them lightly on the legs (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1696). As far as my knowledge goes the Ayr Tuareg have terms very similar to those mentioned above, but I have not taken them down in my notes and only remember very few of them, e.g. ***tarajawit*** (a camel which roars during loading and unloading), ***alem-n-akabur*** (a camel walking with very quick steps), ***alem-n-emehal*** (a camel which takes very long steps).

233
192

Considering the very special camel terms just mentioned, it is only natural that the Tuareg also have many terms to cover the use and training of camels. Thus the Ahaggar Tuareg can refer to a normal heavy pack-camel by one of the following terms which are synonymous:— ***abakhul***, ***dekhkhe-dekh***, ***ageigali***, ***akhelkhali***, and ***érikhi***. For riding camels the following terms can be mentioned:— ***arlam*** (any riding camel), ***aserensera***, ***tanegmot***, ***taletmot***, ***arretus*** (excellent and very fast running riding animals). There is also a term for a fully-trained riding camel (***amanun***), and another for a camel which is not yet fully-trained (***asanan***).

233
492*
192

[text continues on p. 101]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

As an illustration of camel terms given to animals in very special situations, I give the two following examples:— (1) A she-camel when driven out for grazing while its calf is tethered in the camp is known as *tamantak* to the Ahaggar Tuareg, as *tenteg* to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr; (2) A pack-camel when walking in a caravan is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *amekkalu*, while the corresponding term in Ayr seems to be *alaway*.

For the size of herds the Ahaggar Tuareg have the following terms:— *tazegga* (a small herd of 20-40 camels and/or she-camels), *ahammal* (from very few animals up to about one hundred, the herd consisting mainly of male camels), *adyaw* (a very large herd comprising about one hundred animals at least, regardless of their sex). As far as my investigations go these terms are not known among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg of Ayr. They refer to a small number of camels as *imnas* (10 to 15 animals comprising male and/or female camels), while a bigger herd is known as *tollemin* (comprising male and/or female camels).

All the above-mentioned camel terms are with very few exceptions used exclusively for camels and not for other animals. Extensive vocabularies are found also for other domestic animals and for many aspects of stock-breeding, but the camel vocabulary is extremely large by comparison. This seems understandable as camels have a many-sided use to the Tuareg, and there can be no doubt that camel-terms like goat-terms are primarily a linguistic technique of practical value – a technique which enables the Tuareg to speak about their animals with precision. But this is evidently not the sole reason why the camel vocabulary is so extensive that a detailed description of all terms would necessitate an independant book on this subject. For the camel vocabulary is extremely large not only because of its practical value, but also because Tuareg interest in camels is not solely confined to their practical uses. This is intimated, I believe, by some of the peculiar terms mentioned and above all by the very many synonyms.

Camels, in contrast to most domestic animals, have social functions among the Tuareg. It is true that bride-wealth in vassal tribes of the Northern Tuareg may be paid in goats (25–30 animals), but this is the case mainly among the *Kel Ajjer* while most Ahaggar vassals will claim that bride-wealth should be paid in camels. The true vassals of Ahaggar give one to three camels for a wife, the payment being dependent upon the bride's tribe – in most tribes it is the custom to give only one camel, while two tribes will claim two and three camels respectively for their women. Among the Ayr vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group bride-wealth may be paid in cash, though the bride-wealth in these tribes is generally one camel as among most northern vassals. But the size of bride-wealth among the Ayr Tuareg is frequently discussed by representatives of the families, and it depends much upon the age, quality, and wealth of the bride. For very desired girls the payment may rise to two or three camels while for others the payment is only "two camel feet", that is a "half share in a camel"; it is said that even "one foot" is sometimes accepted as bride-wealth. This system of giving shares in camels may give rise to trouble between the persons who share the same animal. Among noble Tuareg, both in the north and in Ayr, bride-wealth can be paid only in camels. Among noble tribes of the Northern Tuareg the bride-wealth to be paid is fixed at seven camels, while among the few noble Tuareg now left in the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group the price, it is said, varies between ten and twenty camels. Camels given for bride-wealth are generally *ilusān* (sing. *alegges*) (fem. *tilusin*, sing. *taleggest*),

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 583 601 that is camels two to three years old, and the same word is also used in kinship terminology for brothers and sisters-in-law.

233 436 593 431 584 684 643 683 The Tuareg make social payments and many indemnities in camels. If, as may happen, a woman permits her husband to take a second wife, she will claim at least one camel from him. Again, if a woman feels herself badly treated by her husband she will go to her parents' camp and not return to her husband until she has been presented with a camel. Parents will sometimes induce their children to marry against their own feelings by means of a gift of camels. In Ahaggar the indemnity for adultery is fixed at three camels paid by the seducer, while one camel is given by an unfaithful wife. However, these camels are not given to the deceived spouse, but to the supreme chief of Ahaggar, the *Amenukal*. For the knocking out of a tooth two camels must be given, but if the injured person is a woman the payment is five camels. For the destruction of an eye the indemnity is fixed at 25 camels. The same payment is made for the cutting off of a hand or a foot, the cutting of a finger or a toe being fixed at a price of five camels. In agreement with this system blood-wealth in Ahaggar was fixed at one hundred camels in the past. There were quite definite rules governing the age and appearance of the camels to be paid for a slain man. They should all be she-camels of different age, and of ten distinct colours as follows:—

233 436 682

Age		*Colour*	
10	*iliɣad*, or *chét awéiay* (one year old)	10	*ibeydeɣin* (white)
10	*ihusin* (2 years old)	10	*itilaɣin* (mahogany)
10	*tekkemífaklen* (3 years old)	10	*tizeggeɣin* (reddish)
10	*tiruyar* (4 years old)	10	*tibhawin* (reddish brown)
10	*chét essin* (5 years old)	10	*tilemlaɣin* (grey)
10	*chét okkoz* (6 years old)	10	*tizerifin* (metallic grey)
10	*timesseɗas* (7 years old)	10	*timenɣelin* (dark grey)
10	*chét tahalt* (8 years old)	10	*tikewelin* (black)
20	*tireɣgawin* (more than eight years old; she-camels considered neither young nor old)	10	*tizerɣafin* (piebald)
		10	*tiwinaɣin* (white cornea)

233 822 * 492 643 The actual value of a camel is never judged from its colour, but colours have a certain æsthetic value, and wealthy Tuareg who keep several riding camels will always have animals of different colours. This is the case with the present *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, who is said to possess between ten and twenty camels trained for riding.

233 857 545 524 232 324 868 181 Camels play a great part in the life of the individual. Boys of the vassal class may be set to herd goats, but their games centre round camels, and they take no particular interest in other domestic animals. For their games very small boys have camel puppets which are jaw-bones of sheep and goats (Fig. 79a), or roughly-cut stones (Fig. 79b–d). These playthings are their "riding camels", "she-camels", and their "caravans". Boys learn to travel on camel-back at a very early age. When three or four years old they sit behind their father's riding saddle or on the top of a loaded pack-camel, and all boys can ride a trotting camel without a saddle before they are ten. Boys grow up with an intimate knowledge of camels and camel-breeding, and with very little interest in any other subject.

[Text continues on p. 104]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

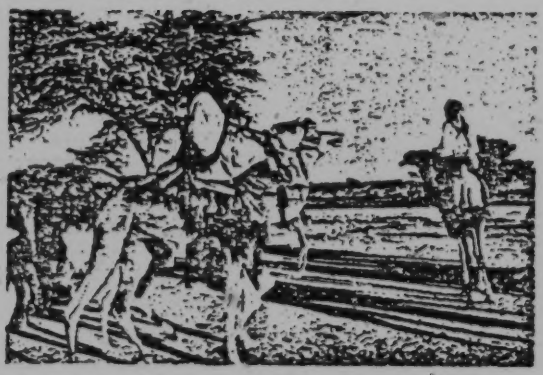


Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *ajagaj* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iwwadan*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihuton* (*ihuten* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraɣen* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

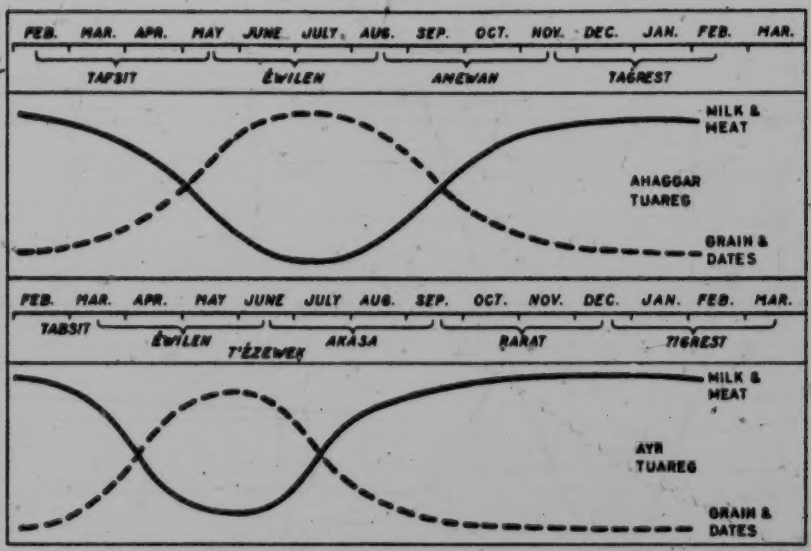
439 caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use.
437 But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize
[435] their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg
[492] get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large,
[476] for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively
[484] on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it
[592] is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it
437 is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or
439 four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired
435 for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become
592 very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good
162 sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

262 Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an
[222] occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few house-
[439] holds also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

437 The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad
439 quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent
[317] for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of
[263] Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for
[233] domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouar at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

433
262
805



[511]
[824]

Fig. 151. The relative importance throughout the year of food derived from stock-breeding and vegetable products mainly comprising agricultural products. The curves describe conditions in good years for wealthy families. However, milk (and meat) is less important to most Ayr families than indicated in the diagram which covers a household making use of the particular type of annual pasture which remains green throughout winter, notably *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*) *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tegellat* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). – This diagram should be compared with Fig. 14 where climatic and botanical changes throughout the year are outlined.

433
439

it is remunerative to buy an extra supply of millet in Damergu and to exchange it for dates and salt at Bilma. Caravan trading is a source of profit to the Ayr Tuareg, but most of them ultimately acquire their agricultural food products in exchange for stock and stock-breeding products. Very few of them mine salt at Amadror, and most of them obtain salt in return for millet bought for domestic animals in Damergu, or for meat of domestic animals butchered in Ayr. The Tuareg cannot easily subsist without agricultural products but they can obtain them in exchange for their livestock.

●233
166
[184]

We see again that conditions of stock-breeding are very favourable in Ayr in comparison with those of Ahaggar and in Tasilé-n-Ajjer, where frequent drought periods make it difficult for the Tuareg to exist. It is easily understandable that the favourable grazing conditions of Ayr have caused many Tuareg of the north to migrate southwards. These migrations take place even to-day and have gone on for centuries (cf. p. 411 ff.). However, even in Ayr it is most difficult to subsist without cultivated cereals (millet), and we must do away with the myth that pastoralists of North Africa live entirely on milk and meat from their animals – they do not. This is true for all Tuareg I have visited, including

433
262

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

412

Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*tedefi*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *tasiawt*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aſuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). 322

c. *tékadimt*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.150 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *tékadimt*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865). 564

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths.

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's 293
hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known 232
to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair 233
in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired
breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured 438
by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *éhafilen*, is placed upon a piece 462
of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small
quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[text continues on p. 266]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

are also very akin to the Tuareg in culture, but have preserved some Arab traits of material culture and their traditional social organization in addition to their language, though they also know *tamahaq*. We are here concerned only with traits adopted into Tuareg culture from contact with the Arabs.

In the description of Tuareg culture I have already pointed out many cultural traits due to Arab influence. I have mentioned such traits in connection with food-preparation (p. 232, 237 ff, 247 ff) and dress (p. 303 f.). I have also mentioned the introduction of cultivation methods and cultivated plants owing to contact with Arabs and the Arabic-speaking *Harratin* (p. 186 ff.), and I have stated that it seems as if new types or new breeds of domestic animals were introduced to North Africa by the invading Arabs. Cats and domestic pigeons seem to be post-Arabian in the Sahara (p. 115 f.), the true grey-hound came to Tuareg country with the Arabs, who also introduced the particular horse-breed known as the *Aryen* type (p. 113). Doutressoulle relates a native tradition to the effect that this breed came to the Begzen Mountains with Arabs of Tripolitania (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 238 f., 242). Horses of this breed are introduced to Ayr from the north even to-day, but as far as I know the Ayr Tuareg and the Hausa-speaking *Imeggedezen* do not use the Arab type of saddle or the very broad stirrups typical of the northern horse-riding Arabs. They generally use very narrow stirrups for the insertion of one or two toes. These stirrups were possibly introduced to the Western Sudan with the Dongolawi breed. It came from Upper Egypt at the end for the 13th century A.D. when the *Djoheyna* Arabs immigrated (Mauny 1961, p. 283).

I have mentioned above (p. 54 ff.) that there are two main types of camels among the Northern Tuareg:— (1) a northern Arab breed (*marroki*) characterized by heavy stature and a thick covering of wool, and (2) a southern breed more slenderly built and with little or no wool – a breed which is typical to the Tuareg. Medieval Arab authors have stated that the Tuareg possessed camels of a particular breed well fitted for riding (Ibn Khaldun II, p. 70, 105; Edrisi, p. 11, 67 f., 144 f.; Leo Africanus p. 940 f.). The division of camels into two distinct types of the above characteristics can be traced elsewhere in Northern Africa, where the heavy woolly breed is found mainly in the north and particularly among Arabs, while the slender non-woolly breed is common among such pastoralists as the Tuareg, the Moors of Mauretania (who are largely of Tuareg stock and have a great many Berber words in their camel vocabulary, according to Monteil 1952), the Tebu, and the Beja tribes around the Nile (cf. Cauvet 1925, I, p. 79 ff.; Doutressoulle 1947, p. 272 ff.; Nachtigal 1879, I, p. 418 f.; Murray 1935, p. 92 ff.). The distinction between the two main types cannot apparently be explained by the different environmental conditions, for they frequently live within the same type of environment, and the northern *marroki* type is found particularly among Arabs, and not only among the Arabs of the northern desert. *Marroki*-like camels seem to exist among such Arab tribes as the *Kunta* and the *Berabich* south of the Niger Bend in the Azawad desert (Doutressoulle 1947, p. 273), among the camel-breeding Arabs of the Lake Tchad region, and among Arab pastoralists of the former Anglo-Egyptian Sudan – particularly among the Kababish (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 80 ff., 83 f.). There seem to be little doubt that the *marroki* camel came to North Africa with the Arabs and it is then natural to investigate whether they also introduced particular cultural traits connected with camel-breeding. It is relatively easy to take up such an investigation with reference to particular saddle-types, because they are frequently described and depicted in literature.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tuareg where influence from Arab material culture is particular strong, and it is structurally identical with the Arab pack-saddle known as *ḥawiyya* or *ḥedâge*. The origin of the pack-saddle called *aruki* among the Southern Tuareg is not easily determined. It may perhaps constitute a late type which developed from a pack-saddle with two curved or angular trees in front of the camel's hump. This may be true of some *aruki*-like saddles. But certain pack-saddles of *aruki* type may perhaps have originated from a kind of split wood similar to that used for camels by the Somali of Tana River (cf. Ahlefeldt 1948, ill. p. 137).

There are other traits of camel breeding that have apparently been introduced among the Tuareg through contact with the Arabs. This may be true of the looped rope (*asaṛun*) connected with a little stick for attachment around the camel's foreleg (p. 72 ff., Fig. 45a). This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg though common among the Northern Tuareg who often make it of camel's wool. It seems to be known among most, perhaps all, Arabs, who manufacture it from the same material. Among the Ababde and the Bisharin it is plaited from dum palm material (cf. Sleesen-Dolk 1957, p. 12, Figs. 28–30). It is most probably an Arab trait which also seems to be Cauvet's opinion (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 554 & pl. LXII, p. 555).

We may perhaps also mention the large woven transportation bags which are extremely common among all North African Arab pastoralists, while unknown among the Tuareg. But small plaited or woven bags of goat hair mixed with camel's wool are manufactured in Ahaggar by women of certain tribes (p. 266 f, Fig. 209a–b). These bags are known as *tiṛṛar* (sing. *téṛeriṛt*) which seems to be derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1776 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711). The small loading sticks *tiḥḍad* (sing. *téḥeḍiṭ*) (p. 76) used to unite the two halves of a camel load are perhaps also Arab in origin for this particular word is apparently also derived from Arabic (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 520 & Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 711).

The origin of other traits of camel-breeding is not so easy to determine, but it is very possible that the plaited pouch which among the Northern Tuareg constitutes the normal method to prevent camel calves from sucking (p. 62, Figs. 41–42) was also introduced by the Arabs. This device is unknown among the Ayr Tuareg and apparently also among the *Kel Geres*. It is found among the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram* (*abegu*) and is recorded in literature from the *Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141), and from the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 71). It is widely found among all pastoral Arabs of Northern Africa and of the Arabian Peninsula.

As to the use of camel brands produced by burning with a redhot iron it seems difficult to judge from distributions the origin of this method. These brands are known among most Tuareg with the exception of the *Kel Ferwan* and other Tuareg of Ayr, who use earmarks cut with a knife. Earmarks seem to be used for camels also among the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 103) and were apparently used in ancient Arabia (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 298). One might perhaps assume that earmarks constitute an older type of proprietry marks, while brands came later. But information about marks and brands is scarce.

The origin of many traits of camel-breeding cannot be determined, but it is not be doubted that the Arabs have introduced into North Africa a particular breed of camel together with certain saddles and objects connected with the use of the camel as a pack animal. There is also no doubt that these

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-19[illegible]963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

233 177 traits are found among the Northern Tuareg and partly among the *Iwllemmeden*, while they have not generally been adopted by the *Kel Ayr* and the *Kel Geres*. It is most interesting in this connection that when they wish to speed up their riding camels the Northern Tuareg use a sound identical with that used among the Arabs, while the Tuareg of Ayr use a very different signal (p. 136).

The Arabs only partially influenced Tuareg camel-breeding, for this was well-established in North 233 Africa before the Arab invasions. There is no doubt that certain traits of camel-breeding are known 171 to most pastoralists who breed the one-humped camel. Such traits may well have been introduced to North Africa with the Arabs, but they were most probably also known to North Africa camel-breeders before the Arabs arrived. Among such traits universally known to camel-breeders, the following can be mentioned:—

Milking with the dummy-calf. This seems to be practised among all Arab pastoralists of the Peninsula; it is frequently described, in modern literature about this area, and is mentioned as well in ancient Arabic poetry (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 355). The custom is known to Arabs of the Sahara and, according to Monteil, also to the Moors (cf. Monteil 1952, p. 72). I have mentioned above that the dummy-calf is used for milking camels among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, and according to Nicolas the custom is also practised among the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 140).

Perhaps a milking method universally known is that of patting the udder. I have recorded this method from Ahaggar, from Ayr (p. 57), and from Arab pastoralists of the Sahara (e.g. the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*). I have not been able to find much information about this method in literature, but it is possibly this to which Thesiger refers in his description of camel milking in Southern Arabia (cf. Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

A method of which there is also very little information is that of weaning calves by cutting them on the bridge of the nose in two or three places. I have noted it from the *Kel Ahaggar*, the *Kel Aïjer*, and the *Kel Ayr* and from pastoralists of Arab tribes such as the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, but have not seen it among Arabs in the borderlands of the Atlas and the Sahara. I have also noted the existence of this particular method among the *Kel Tahabanat* of the *Western Iwllemmeden*, but it is not mentioned by Nicolas from the *Iwllemmeden Kel Denek*, though he states that it is known among the *Kunta* (Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). In certain parts of North Africa a cut on the bridge of the nose of camel calves is given one or two thorns. These sting the mother camel when the calf tries to suck and the mother camel therefore kicks the calf away. The method is described from In Salah by Cauvet, while Nicolas mentions it from certain Arabs and *Ifoγas* Tuareg (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359; Nicolas 1950a, p. 141). A related method is known to pastoralists of Arabia where a little pointed stick is tied to the head of the calf to prevent it from sucking (cf. Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 359).

261 171 A very interesting custom, perhaps also a very ancient one, is that of using the blood of living camels for food. Among the Tuareg, blood of living camels is drunk only when water is lacking during camel expeditions in the desert (cf. p. 235). The bleeding of camels to utilize their blood is also practiced among the Tebu (Huard & Charpin 1960, p. 195), and among the bedouins of Arabia it seems as though camel's blood is consumed regularly for food. Doughty describes how Arab bedouins boil camel's meat in broth and blood, as they are unaware that the Koran forbids the use of blood for food (Doughty ed. 1926, I, p. 561). A good description of the use of blood of living camels as food among

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of bleeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24).

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. 145).

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples.

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg.

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iwllemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foṛas. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

634 565 571 613 721 vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

565 571 The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

233 433 [234] [262] In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to [281] utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the [437] camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

[234] [262] The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Pastoral Tuareg could not survive in Ahaggar without goats. They might be able to subsist without camels, which can be replaced by donkeys as beasts of burden. But camels make life much easier to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who nowadays, as in the past, base their economy mainly on camels and goats. I think it is fairly correct to say that most Ahaggar Tuareg get their milk-food from goats and their vegetable food from caravan trading with the aid of camels.

Formerly, the true vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar were not allowed to possess camels, which were owned exclusively by noble Tuareg. Foucauld says that 100–150 years ago the vassals had no camels, but he does not mention his source of information (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 534). It is, however, confirmed by many Tuareg that the vassals originally had no camels, and that throughout the 19th century they had not many camels, while they were rich in goats of which the noble Tuareg had very few. Goat products were given to noble Tuareg by vassals, and even to-day goats and butter form part of the *tiwsé*-payments. The noble Tuareg, on the other hand, allowed their particular vassals to trade with their camels against the payment of a certain amount of vegetable food products which to-day also form part of most *tiwsé*-payments. They allowed their vassals also to have usufructs of such animals as could not be taken with them on their migrations. Noble Tuareg of to-day continue to claim food products and the like from their vassals. Poor noble Tuareg frequently ask gifts of the vassals, and there are even noble Tuareg who temporarily camp close to rich vassals from whom they obtain part of their food. Vassals may also lend their she-camels to noble Tuareg, who will return the animals when milk-yielding stops; this is considered an old privilege of the nobility. The noble Tuareg of to-day may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance, to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals, who can refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are even noble Tuareg who wear amulets which are believed to induce vassals to donate the things required.

It would seem that the economic relationships forming the basis of the Tuareg political system in the north would arise so to speak automatically from two distinct cultures which met each other in the desert: a camel-breeding culture of a Berber-speaking people now known as the noble Tuareg, and a goat-breeding culture of an ancient Berber-speaking population which now constitutes the vassals.

Some Tuareg traditions seem to indicate that political systems based on class-division arose in this way in the north, but we have to admit that other traditions contradict this. Below I attempt to elucidate Tuareg history in Ahaggar by means of native traditions to which, for practical reasons, I allot definite numbers.

Tradition A. All Tuareg have a common origin as they descend from a woman named *Lemtuna*, who is also the ancestress of certain Berbers living around Radamas in Tripolitania. Most Berbers of Morocco descend from *Lemtuna*'s sister who became the ancestress of the *Beraber*. This tradition is widely known in Ahaggar.

Tradition B.I. This tradition is a very common explanation of the origin of the class-division in Ahaggar: Long ago two Islamic women of the *Beraber* immigrated to the oasis of Silet from Tafilelt in Morocco. One of these women named *Ti-n-Hinan* was noble while the other woman named *Takama*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

their noble origin, but Rodd's explanation was verified by *Kel Ferwan* vassals who said that both noble and vassal Tuareg are found among the *Kel Tédalé*. That some of them are noble by origin seems to appear from the statement of Nicolas that the *Kel Tédalé* in part are related to the *Ihaḍanaren* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Nicolas 1950b, p. 475). For the latter tribe, though without vassals, is considered noble by all Northern Tuareg.

As to the origin of vassalage among the Ayr Tuareg, it is probable that this is due to the meeting of distinct cultures based mainly on camel-breeding and goat-breeding. Rodd has some very interesting remarks on the position of the vassals as camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. He says as follows:— "One of the functions of the Imghad is to take complete charge of and use the camels of their lords for long periods or trade with them on their behalf. In such cases the Imghad act as the agents of the nobles, each one of whom has a right to ask the servile tribe as a whole to undertake these duties. But such obligations are imposed collectively on the tribe and not on any one Imghad. It is the custom to share the offspring of the camels thus herded in equal shares, though in the event of any of the animals dying whilst under the charge of the Imghad, the latter are collectively responsible for making good the loss, save in extenuating circumstances" (Rodd 1926a, p. 141 f.). Rodd, however, also refers to the importance of slaves as camel-herdsmen both among noble and vassal Tuareg (Rodd 1926a, p. 136). As far as my own information goes, camel-herding and caravan trading were in the past attended to mainly by slaves, and the noble Tuareg in particular were slave-owners. I have not been able to confirm Rodd's statement that the vassals were formerly the particular camel-herdsmen of the noble Tuareg. But I have been told by many Tuareg that there were in the past very few camels in vassal tribes, and though most Tuareg apparently hold the view that the vassals have always had camels, the Sultan *Umar* claims that originally they had none while the noble Tuareg have owned these animals since times immemorial. So it might seem as if the political system of the drum-group in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, was founded upon a class division with its root in the meeting of distinct pastoral cultures. It is a fact that certain vassal tribes were attached to their noble lords as a kind of workers with the duty of performing such work as could not be done properly by negroid slaves. Among these tribes were the *Ikawkan* attached to the *Kel Azel*, and the *Iḳḳoberen* and the *Iberdyanen* attached to the *Irawatten*.

It is most likely that the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg had vassals before they arrived in Ayr, for many true vassals hold that they have immigrated from the traditional homeland of their noble lords. However, there are in Ayr also certain tribes which have lost their noble status and become a kind of vassals owing to having been subdued in fairly recent wars.

THE KEL GERES DRUM-GROUP

There is no class-division of so-called noble Tuareg and vassals among the *Kel Geres*. In this respect they differ from most other Tuareg groups except for the *Kel Ewey* among whom a division into classes of this kind has ceased to exist – probably because the *Kel Ewey* have mixed with the sedentary negroid population of the Ayr villages. In *Kel Ewey* certain tribes are more important than others, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

judicial or military authority, and the vassals could complain over their noble lords to the drum-chief, whom they could even dismiss if dissatisfied with him.

In some Tuareg groups the vassals were not allowed to possess camels, and it is interesting here to mention that among certain East African peoples cattle or productive cows are owned only by people of a noble or aristocratic class (cf. Roscoe 1923a, p. 51; 1923b, p. 2, 15; Oberg 1940, p. 130; Maquet 1954, p. 29, 171). Where Tuareg vassals owned camels the noble Tuareg had the right to make use of these animals, and even to-day there are vassal Tuareg of Ahaggar who give their milk-yielding she-camels to the nobility.

In some Tuareg groups there seem to be traditions in favour of the theory that the class-division, which forms the basis of most Tuareg political systems, arose as the result of the conquest by pastoral camel-breeders of nomads or semi-nomads subsisting mainly on goat-breeding. We have mentioned that the word *Kel Ulli*, which means literally "the goat people", are used as a generic term for vassals among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Kel Dennek* of the *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg. We have also seen that the word *Imṛad* is used for "vassals" in all groups, and it perhaps also refers to goat-breeding with the meaning of "a kid" (cf. p. 408). If this latter explanation be correct it might seem that the word "*Imṛad*" was originally a contemptuous term, and this is in accordance with the fact that vassals among the *Kel Ahaggar* do not use this term, and do not like to be known by it, though they have nothing against the term "*Kel Ulli*".

Even to-day there is a certain cultural distinction between noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar. Rich noble Tuareg will whenever possible subsist on camel's milk, while vassals, although they may be rich in camels, attach much importance to the breeding of goats and the manufacture of butter and cheese. The noble Tuareg use camels for the transportation of tents during nomadic migrations, while even rich vassals will generally use donkeys. Noble women possess special riding saddles for camels, but they are unknown in the class of true vassals. Vassal women do not generally ride camels, but donkeys, which are never ridden by noble women. Noble Tuareg and vassals of Ahaggar are culturally different in other respects, and I attach a particular importance to the following distinctions:— (1) In noble tribes bride-wealth is seven camels, in vassal tribes it is one to three camels, alternatively perhaps goats. Among vassals of Tasilé-n-Ajjer bride-wealth is 25–30 goats. (2) The noble Tuareg brand camels and donkeys with a red-hot iron, whereas true vassals use earmarks for donkeys, as they do for goats. However, in one vassal tribe, the *Dag Ṛali*, donkeys are marked in both ways. (3) Among noble Tuareg the tent belongs to the husband, among vassals it is owned by the wife. (4) The noble Tuareg frequently use a tent with a central T-shaped post which is said to be peculiar to the tents used by noble Tuareg. (5) The bandoleer known as *tirzemin*, or *ibeyderen*, perhaps connected with camel-riding, is said to have been used originally among noble Tuareg and not among vassals. (6) The noble Tuareg do not eat birds, eggs, fish, and reptiles, while vassal Tuareg will not refuse food of this kind. It can be added that elements of an ancient hunting culture are found particularly among vassals, who use the hunting spear with a wooden shaft, the spiked wheel-trap, and other ancient hunting methods. There are other distinctions between noble Tuareg and vassals, but the two originally distinct cultures have largely merged. Certain noble Tuareg to-day have large flocks of goats which, however, are tended exclusively by slave women. Apart from sewing, embroidering,